

College of Arts at the University of Canterbury
Art History And Theory in the School of Humanities
ARTH 690 Masters Thesis

Thesis Title: The translation of Japanese Gardens from their origins to New Zealand.

Hazel Baker

Senior Supervisor: Dr. Richard Bullen (University of Canterbury).

Co-Supervisor: Dr. James Beattie (University of Waikato).

Thesis Start Registration Date: 1st March 2009.

Thesis Completion Date: 28th February 2010.

Word Count: 30,271.

Abstract

This thesis examines the connections between Japanese gardens, Modernism and Japanese-inspired gardens in New Zealand. The link between traditional Japanese gardens and Modernism is a familiar theme for scholars of architecture, design and landscape architecture. A less considered route of scholarship is the relationship between historical Japanese garden designs, Modernist-inspired gardens in Japan, and New Zealand garden design. A historical foundation provides a base on which to analyse any later changes or transmissions. By analysing the history of Japanese gardens and Modernism, through select key figures, one can also grasp their complexities and outline wider trends. Connecting these somewhat divergent entities is important due to the fact that these gardens represent a myriad of global translations. They represent the modernisation and globalisation of Japan and New Zealand as well as trends in New Zealand's artistic and cultural community. The success of the translation of Japanese traditions into New Zealand was due to, in part, the production of a regional idiom. New Zealand's Japanese-inspired gardens represent the integration of Japanese and New Zealand traditions, materials and ideas. The result is a hybrid garden, a garden which forms its own specific regional peculiarities which symbolises the many connections between Japan and New Zealand.

Acknowledgements

I would like to sincerely thank my two supervisors, Dr. Richard Bullen and Dr. James Beattie for their assistance and support throughout the researching, writing and editing of this thesis. Their collective eye for detail and guidance were invaluable. Writing in a coherent and concise way was an enormous task and I thank them for enduring the countless editing sessions. I would also like to thank Peter Sergel, John P. Adam, Toru Tokeda and Martin Wilkie for their interviews and research assistance. Plant identification was an extremely difficult, but very important task and I cannot begin to explain my gratitude to Douglas Horrell who helped me through that process. My thanks also goes to the maintenance and gardening crews at Hamilton Gardens and Auckland Zoo for their tireless effort in keeping these gardens pristine and beautiful for the public to enjoy. I would also like to thank writers like Sima Eliovson for writing such comprehensive guides of how to make Japanese gardens. Without texts like hers, few private Japanese gardens would have been created in New Zealand. I would like to acknowledge Margaret Long, editor of *The Gardener's Journal*, for printing my open letter to the readers in Issue 6, May 2009. That letter initiated contact with many gardeners and garden owners, and I sincerely thank her for her assistance. I would also like to acknowledge and thank Kristina Pickford for allowing me, once again, to use her excellent photographs of various gardens in Japan. Finally I would like to thank my family for their endless support and love. My father Philip and my twin sister Jennifer have endured many chapter synopses and explanations for which they have my ultimate respect and gratitude.

A Note To The Reader:

All Japanese, Chinese and Korean names are presented in the traditional order: family name followed by given name.

Contents

<u>List of Figures</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Introduction</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Chapter One: The History And Tradition Of Japanese Gardens</u>	<u>12</u>
(i) <u>The Japanese Garden's Origins: China</u>	<u>14</u>
(ii) <u>Symbolism And The Japanese Garden</u>	<u>17</u>
(iii) <u>Shintō And Saniwa Gardens</u>	<u>18</u>
(iv) <u>Gardens Of The Nara Period (646-794)</u>	<u>20</u>
(v) <u>The Sakuteiki</u>	<u>21</u>
(vi) <u>Gardens Of The Heian Period (794-1184)</u>	<u>24</u>
(vii) <u>Gardens Of The Late Kamakura Period (1185-1333) And The Muromachi Period (1333 -1568)</u>	<u>28</u>
(viii) <u>Zen Buddhism And The Karesansui Garden</u>	<u>30</u>
(ix) <u>Saihō-ji</u>	<u>31</u>
(x) <u>Ryōan-ji</u>	<u>34</u>
(xi) <u>Daisen-in</u>	<u>36</u>
(xii) <u>Materials Used In Karesansui Gardens</u>	<u>38</u>
(xiii) <u>Gardens Of The Edo Period (1615-1868)</u>	<u>39</u>
(xiv) <u>Conclusion</u>	<u>44</u>
<u>Chapter Two: Modernism And The Japanese Garden</u>	<u>46</u>
(i) <u>The History Of Modernism</u>	<u>47</u>
(ii) <u>Modernism And The Garden In Japan</u>	<u>52</u>
(iii) <u>Modernism Looks To Japan: Walter Gropius</u>	<u>54</u>
(iv) <u>Mirei Shigemori And Modernism In Japan</u>	<u>65</u>
(v) <u>Conclusion</u>	<u>79</u>
<u>Chapter Three: Modernism And The Japanese Garden In New Zealand</u>	<u>84</u>
(i) <u>Odo Strewe</u>	<u>85</u>
(ii) <u>Strewe And The California Style</u>	<u>88</u>
(iii) <u>Strewe And Modernism In New Zealand</u>	<u>93</u>
(iv) <u>New Zealand Garden Design After Modernism</u>	<u>105</u>
(v) <u>New Zealand's Private Japanese-Inspired Gardens</u>	<u>106</u>
(vi) <u>New Zealand's Public Japanese-Inspired Gardens</u>	<u>114</u>
(vii) <u>Hamilton Gardens' Japanese Garden</u>	<u>116</u>
(viii) <u>Auckland Zoo's Japanese Garden</u>	<u>123</u>
(ix) <u>Modernism And New Zealand's Japanese-Inspired Gardens</u>	<u>126</u>
<u>Conclusion</u>	<u>128</u>
<u>Bibliography</u>	<u>131</u>
<u>Figures</u>	<u>145</u>

List of Figures

Figure 1: *Ise Jingū*, Grand Shinto Shrine at Ise, Mie Prefecture, Established and constructed by Princess Yamatohime-no-mikoto daughter of Emperor Suinin, (r. 29 BCE - 70 AD). Watanabe, Yasutada, *Shinto Art: Ise and Izumo Shrines*, Weatherhill/Heibonisha, New York and Tokyo, 1974, p. 19.

Figure 2: *Toin Teien*, Imperial garden of Nara Palace commissioned by Empress Shotoku (718-770, r. 749-758, 764-770), Nara, Nara Period (710-794). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 74.

Figure 3: *Kyuseki Teien* also known as Heijō-kyō Sakyō Sanjō Nibō Kyuseki, Nara, Nara Period (710-794). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 36.

Figure 4: Teiji Itō, Chinese residential plan according to geomancy and the ancient principles of *fengshui*. Itō, Teiji, *The Gardens Of Japan*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York, and London, 1984, p. 27.

Figure 5: *Byōdō-in*, Uji, Commissioned by eleventh century governing regents, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966-1027) and his son Yorimichi (992-1074). Photograph by Kristina Pickford.

Figure 6: Wybe Kuitert, Redrawn detail of *Koma Kurabe Gyōkō Emaki*, 1024. Depicts life at the Kaya-no-in, Fujiwara no Yorimichi's (992-1074) Kyoto estate. Kuitert, Wybe, *Themes, Scenes, And Taste In The History Of Japanese Garden Art*, J.C. Gieben, Amsterdam, 1988, pp. 12-13.

Figure 7: Musō Soseki, *Garden of Saihōji*, Kyoto, circa 1339. Commissioned by nobleman Fujiwara Chikahide (1288–1341). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 127.

Figure 8: Unknown Designer, *Ryōan-ji garden at Ryōan-ji Temple*, Kyoto, circa 1499. Commissioned by military leader Hosokawa Katsumoto (1430-1473) and his son Hosokawa Masamoto (1466-1507). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 127.

Figure 9: Unknown Designer, *Daisen-in garden at the Priests Quarters (hōjō) at Daisen-in, subtemple of Daitoku-ji*, Kyoto, circa 1509-1513. The *Daisen-in* sub-temple was founded in the early sixteenth-century by Priest Kogaku (1464-1548). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 58.

Figure 10: Teiji Itō, *Diagram of Popular Gravel Patterns*. Itō, Teiji, *The Gardens Of Japan*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York, and London, 1984, p. 196.

Figure 11: *Shugaku-in Imperial Villa Including Mount Hiei*, Kyoto, 1655-1659. Comissioned by Retired Emperor Gomizunoo (1596-1680; r. 1611-29). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 89.

Figure 12: *Katsura Imperial Villa*, Kyoto, 1620-1660. Commissioned by Imperial Prince Toshihito (1579-1629) and his son Prince Toshitada (1619-62). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 111.

Figure 13: *Garden of Kenroku-en*, Kanazawa, Ishikawa Prefecture, 1676-1874. Commissioned by successive Maeda *daimyō* lords: Tsunanori (1643-1724), Harunaga (1745-1810), Narinaga (1782-1824), and Nariyasu (1811-1884). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 59.

Figure 14a: *Tokudai-ji-seki at the garden of Kōraku-en*, Koishikawa, Bunkyo, Tōkyō, circa 1629-1700. Commissioned by *daimyō* lord, Tokugawa Yorifusa (1603-1661) in 1629 and was completed by his son Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701) and Chinese scholar, Zhu Shunshui (1600-1682). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 44.

Figure 14b: *Map of the Garden at Kōraku-en*, Koishikawa, Bunkyo, Tōkyō, circa 1629-1700. Commissioned by *daimyō* lord, Tokugawa Yorifusa (1603-1661) in 1629 and was completed by his son Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701) and Chinese scholar, Zhu Shunshui (1600-1682). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 105.

Figure 15: Alfred H. Barr, *Diagram of the Trajectory of Modern Art*, Originally published on the jacket cover of Barr, Alfred H., *Cubism And Abstract Art*, Museum of Modern Art Publishers, New York, 1936.

Figure 16a: Walter Gropius, and Adolf Meyer, *Fagus Shoe-Last Factory*, Alfred-an-der-Leine, 1911. Hughes, Robert, *The Shock Of The New*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1991, p. 196.

Figure 16b: Walter Gropius, and Adolf Meyer, *Fagus Shoe-Last Factory*, Alfred-an-der-Leine, 1911. Lupfer, Gilbert, and Sigel, Paul, *Walter Gropius, 1883-1969: The Promoter Of A New Form*, Taschen, Paris, Cologne, Brussels, London, Los Angeles, and New York City, 2004, p. 17.

Figure 17: Walter Gropius, *Bauhaus*, Dessau, 1925-26. Hughes, Robert, *The Shock Of The New*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1991, p. 197.

Figure 18a+b: Walter, Gropius, *Postcard To Le Corbusier*. Ponciroli, Virginia, (ed.) *Katsura: Imperial Villa*, Electra, Milan, 2005, pp. 386-389.

Figure 19: Walter, Gropius, *Törten Housing Estate*, Heidestaße, Dessau, 1926-1928. Lupfer, Gilbert, and Sigel, Paul, *Walter Gropius, 1883-1969: The Promoter Of A New Form*, Taschen, Paris, Cologne, Brussels, London, Los Angeles, and New York City, 2004, p. 56.

Figure 20: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret-Gris (Le Corbusier), *Villa Savoye*, Poissy, 1929-31. Hughes, Robert, *The Shock Of The New*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1991, p. 193.

Figure 21: Walter, Gropius, *Apartments for the 1957 International Building Exhibition or Internationale Bauausstellung abbreviated form: Interbau*, Handelallee, Hansaviertel, West Berlin, 1955-1957. Lupfer, Gilbert, and Sigel, Paul, *Walter Gropius, 1883-1969: The Promoter Of A New Form*, Taschen, Paris, Cologne, Brussels, London, Los Angeles, and New York City, 2004, p. 82.

Figure 22a: Shigemori Mirei, *Shishin Sōō no Niwa at Massho Honzan Sekizō-ji*, Ichijima, Hyogo, 1972. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 78.

Figure 22b: Shigemori Mirei, *Map of Shishin Sōō no Niwa at Massho Honzan Sekizō-ji*, Ichijima, Hyogo, 1972. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 79.

Figure 23a: Shigemori Mirei, *Garden at Kishiwada-jō*, Kishiwada, Osaka, 1953. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 34.

Figure 23b: Shigemori Mirei, *Map of the Kishiwada-jō*, Kishiwada, Osaka, 1953. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 37.

Figure 24a: Shigemori Mirei, *The North Garden at the Priests Quarters (hōjō) at Tofūkū-ji*, Higashiyama, Kyoto, 1939. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 29.

Figure 24b: Shigemori Mirei, *Map of the Garden at the Priests Quarters (hōjō) at Tofūkū-ji*, Higashiyama, Kyoto, 1939. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 27.

Figure 25: Unkown Designer, *Garden of Fumon-in*, Higashiyama, Kyoto, c.1688-1704. Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 106.

Figure 26: David and Michiko Young, *Shoin of the Eighth Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshimasa (1435-1490, r. 1449-1473)*, Togudo, Ginkaku-ji, Kyoto. Young, David, and Young, Michiko, *The Art Of Japanese Architecture*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 2007, p. 80.

Figure 27a: Henry and Charles Greene, *David B. Gamble House*, Pasadena, California, 1908. Photograph by Thomas, Theodore, and Okubo, Kuniko, in Thomas, Jeanette A., *Images Of The Gamble House: Masterwork Of Greene & Greene*, Balcony Press, Los Angeles, 1994, p. 4.

Figure 27b: Henry and Charles Greene, *David B. Gamble House*, Pasadena, California, 1908. Photograph by Thomas, Theodore, and Okubo, Kuniko, in Thomas, Jeanette A., *Images Of The Gamble House: Masterwork Of Greene & Greene*, Balcony Press, Los Angeles, 1994, p. 91.

Figure 28a: Odo Strewe, *Garden for Mr. W. Subritzky*, 12 Lynfield Place, Mt. Roskill, Auckland, 1962-4. Thompson, Sue, *Odo Strewe 1910-1985: Garden Designer*, Research Paper, Unitec, Auckland, October 1998, p. 34.

Figure 28b-f: Odo Strewe, *Garden for Mr. W. Subritzky*, 12 Lynfield Place, Mt. Roskill, Auckland, 1962-4. Photographs by Mr. W. Subwitzky.

Figure 29: Odo Strewe, *Modernist Pavilion in Blockhouse Bay Garden*, Blockhouse Bay, Auckland, 1951. Lloyd-Jenkins, Douglas, 'Odo Strewe: Modern Homes, Modern Gardens' in M. Bradbury, (ed.) *A History Of The Garden In New Zealand*, Auckland, 1995, p. 165.

Figure 30: Hans Arp, *Configuration*, 1951, Lithograph in two colours on rives paper, 565 x 380mm or 22 1/4 x 15 inches, William Weston Gallery, London, <http://www.williamweston.co.uk/pages/previous/single/376/103/1.html>

Figure 31: Henry Moore, *Recumbent Figure*, 1938, first positioned at Bentley Wood, Halland, Sussex, England, which is Russian immigrant, Serge Chermayeff's (1900-1996) garden. Now the sculpture resides at the Tate Museum. Powers, Alan, 'Henry Moore's Recumbent Figure, 1938, at Bentley Wood' in Eyres, Patrick, and Russell, Fiona, *Sculpture And The Garden*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Aldershot, Hampshire, United Kingdom, 2006, p. 120.

Figure 32: Odo Strewe, *Plans For A Remuera Garden*, Remuera, Auckland, 1950. Strewe, Odo, 'A Garden For Relaxation...Not Backache' in *Home And Building*, New Zealand Institute Of Architects, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 6, November 1951, pp. 32-33.

Figure 33: Odo Strewe, *Garden of Mr. and Mrs. Conyngham*, 11 Selwyn Avenue, Orakei, 1962. Thompson, Sue, *Odo Strewe 1910-1985: Garden Designer*, Research Paper, Unitec, Auckland, October 1998, p. 23.

Figure 34: John P. Salinger, *Example of a Pebble Garden*. Salinger, John P., *The New Zealander's Guide To Pebble Gardens*, Auckland and London, 1971, p. 24.

Figure 35a+b: Adrienne Rewi, *Photographs of Sam Beveridge and Tony Downes Japanese garden*. Rewi, Adrienne, 'Japanese Serenity' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 83, September 1993, p. 32-34.

Figure 35c-h: Adrienne Rewi, *Photographs of Sam Beveridge and Tony Downes Japanese garden*. Rewi, Adrienne, 'Tony Downes' in Rewi, Adrienne, *Private Views: Conversations With New Zealand Gardeners*, Hazard Press Ltd., Christchurch, 1996, pp. 38-43.

Figure 35i-q: Gil Hanly, *Photographs of Sam Beveridge and Tony Downes Japanese garden*. Telford, Deborah, 'Japanese Landscape', in *Next*, Next Publishers Inc., Auckland, no. 41, July 1994, pp. 110-114.

Figure 36: Gil Hanly, *Photograph of Robin and Bryan Rive's Japanese garden*. Firth, Susan, and Hanly, Gil, *New Zealand City Gardens*, Shoal Bay Press, Whitianga, 1989, p. 144.

Figure 37: Gil Hanly, *Photographs of Robin and Bryan Rive's Japanese garden*. Newey, Sharon, 'A Yen For Zen' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 57, May 2001, p. 80.

Figure 38: *Author's Own Photographs of Hamilton Gardens' Japanese Garden*, Hamilton Gardens, Hamilton, Taken on 29th April 2009.

Figure 39: *Author's Own Photographs of Auckland Zoo's Japanese Garden*, Auckland Zoo, Auckland, Taken on 3rd May 2009.

Figure 40: Rosemary Thodey, *Photograph of the Team who created Auckland Zoo's Japanese Garden*. Thodey, Rosemary, 'A Japanese Garden For Auckland Zoo' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 46, August 1990, pp. 34-35.

Introduction

There are some gardens in New Zealand which have a peculiar appearance. Identified as ‘Japanese’ in inspiration, these gardens are numerous and are located within the length and breadth of New Zealand. But the reason for the accumulation of these gardens is rarely considered. Historians have argued that they might have been constructed due to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century enthusiasm for all things *Japonisme*.¹ However, this does not provide a reason for their resurgence in popularity in post World War II New Zealand. I believe one reason for this renewed popularity was that aspects of Japanese garden design aligned with Modernist tenets. Modernism and its comparisons with traditional Japanese design were well-known internationally by this time. But it was only in the 1950s that New Zealanders became interested in these new designs. This thesis is concerned with this phenomenon: explaining the appearance of Japanese-inspired gardens in New Zealand.

The methodology of this thesis was to use a three-part interconnecting discourse which underlines historical precedent, illustrates changes, and examines its translation into New Zealand. The first chapter examines the history of garden design in Japan. There are numerous sources recounting the Japanese gardening history in English, but my analysis centres on preeminent gardens within three key periods. These historical gardens have been chosen due to their connections to later Japanese-inspired gardens created in New Zealand and as such will assist in the analysis of the latter.

¹ Barnett, Rod, and Margetts, Jacqueline A., ‘Celebrating Ted Smyth: The Emergence Of Modern Space In New Zealand Gardens’ in Leach, Andrew, & Matthewson, Gill, (Eds.), *Celebration: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ)*, 24th -27th September 2005, Published by SAHANZ, Napier, September 2005, pp. 38-39.

The interest in these historical garden forms in twentieth century Japan and the impact that traditional Japanese garden design had on Modernism is examined in the second chapter through an analysis of two key figures, Walter Gropius (1883-1969) and Mirei Shigemori (1896-1975). The scant amount of English material on Shigemori did lead me to rely almost solely on the work of one scholar, Christian Tschumi. These two figures have been chosen because they exemplify wider trends such as the Modernists' enthusiasm for Japanese design. They also saw international potential for the translation, revitalisation and renewal of these historical gardens, a potential which turned into reality in New Zealand.

Whilst considering Modernism's impact upon the world of design, including designers working in New Zealand, chapter three examines the Japanese-inspired gardens created in New Zealand since the 1950s. These gardens represent the production of a regional idiom, a hybrid garden formed out of traditions, materials and ideas of both Japan and New Zealand. The public and private gardens chosen also exemplify wider trends within New Zealand. Again, sources are few on this topic, therefore articles in journals, periodicals and magazines were relied upon. These gardens illustrate the result of the translation of Japanese garden forms and Modernism as well as the innovation of New Zealand designers. This thesis provides a new perspective on the enthusiasm for Japanese garden design within the realm of New Zealand's history of landscape architecture and design since 1950.

Chapter One: The History And Tradition Of Japanese Gardens

Throughout history, gardens created by the Japanese have been caught between the traditional and the innovative. The term ‘Japanese garden’ itself is problematic as there is not one clear prototype which can identify this type of garden. Instead there is a vast array of features, materials and sources which form the foundation of the Japanese gardening tradition. When examining the gardens of Japan, the difficulty of finding a clear definition for this art form becomes increasingly evident. Despite the multitudes of concepts and ideas which inform the identity of Japanese gardens, for analytical purposes, one can identify two predominant styles of garden construction that form the corpus of the Japanese gardening tradition. These styles can be characterised by their component parts: the first, a water-based garden and the second, a rock-based garden. An investigation of the development of different styles of gardens in Japan establishes the principal art forms with which Modernist designers would later engage. This historical context is useful as a foundation on which to build upon in the following chapters as it provides the original concepts and ideas which initiated this form of garden which were later adopted and adapted by Modernists and New Zealand designers.

In any cross-cultural research, there will be innumerable difficulties with translation of ideas and concepts. As ideas are the cornerstone of my argument, I have endeavoured to explain each as clearly and concisely as possible. Translations of particular texts, words or phrases are contested as interpretations differ. Translations are integrally engulfed in semantics, which often distracts from the actual argument or message in the text and deters any prospective translators in the first instance. There are concepts in translated texts which previously have been either over-exaggerated or neglected, rendering an accurate analysis of

these words or concepts extremely difficult, or indeed impossible.² Especially within a rather compact analysis as this, one can often only provide an outline of the complexity of an intricate and important word or phrase. The brevity of this text certainly does not indicate a lack of content, rather the opposite is true, there is too much to cover. Historian Stanislaus Fung suggests that each text should be a mixture of exemplars, history and historiography: history to set the context, examples to assist the explanation of an argument, and historiography to outline the discourse among other historians' scholarship upon this topic.³ This is the process I have followed within this thesis. In one perspective, due to the existence and continuation of garden-making one can only expect writing about it to inevitably follow. Fong argues: "garden writing and garden making can be considered mutually generating activities in Chinese culture, each calling forth the other."⁴ The same is true for the Japanese culture and its relationship to its gardening tradition.

Art historian Craig Clunas argues that in presentation, Chinese gardens are representative of the Chinese people. That is to say, in order to construct a Chinese garden, a designer or a gardener must be ethnically Chinese. However, as Clunas states: "The idea of an authentic culture as an inherently coherent, self-sufficient affair of essence has not, in my view, survived the critique expressed by James Clifford among others, and now developed by Edward Said in his recent analysis of the articulation of imperialist discourse in cultural

² For example, the first words of the *Sakuteiki*, Japan's oldest garden-making manifesto written by Tachibana no Toshitsuna (1028-1094), are often translated in different ways. The expression *ishi wo taten koto* can be translated as setting stones, standing stones upright, building with stones, matters on setting stones or the most popular translation: the art of setting stones. Likewise, with the concept of *kowan ni shitagau* which instructs one to follow the request of the stone, or pay attention to the individual characteristics of the stones, or follow the character of the stone when making design decisions. These different translations often cause confusion and contradiction according to which text one reads, if in fact an author analyses them at all. See J. Takei, and M. P. Keane, *Sakuteiki; Visions Of The Japanese Garden; A Modern Translation Of Japan's Gardening Classic*, Boston, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 2001, pp. 3-4.

³ S. Fung, 'Longing And Belonging In A Chinese Garden', in M. Conan, *Perspectives On Garden Histories*, Washington D.C., 1999, pp. 205-206.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

forms.”⁵ Here, Clunas argues the imperialists’ essentialisation of ‘the Chinese garden’ or ‘the Chinese culture’ has caused these entities to be seen in stasis. Rather the opposite is true as Chinese gardens represent a diversity of cultures, styles and traditions, rather than one simple essence. Texts and discourse about these gardens illustrate the multifaceted nature of the sphere of garden designing and making. Translations are intended to alleviate the difficulty in uncovering the ideas implicit within these gardens, yet in many of these the garden becomes even more elusive. This thesis will attempt to elucidate this history. China is the location of Japanese garden tradition’s conceptual beginnings and thus where the historical analysis begins.

(i) The Japanese Garden’s Origins: China

The Japanese gardening tradition began with the diffusion of ideas from China. As early as the Han dynasty (206 BCE-CE 220), garden landscaping was admired and accepted as a fine art practised by Emperors and wealthy noblemen alike.⁶ Chinese gardens were often inspired by nature, myth, landscape paintings, Daoist philosophy or a conscious adoption of Confucius’s regulations and rules governing an ideal society.⁷ Gardens in China developed within different philosophical and cultural systems, which were later adopted in Japan. Ideas about gardens and the arts were introduced into Japan initially in the seventh and eighth centuries by aristocrats, priests and merchants who travelled to China in search of elevated culture. From China, Japanese travellers acquired knowledge of sophisticated writing styles and implements, painting techniques and materials, Buddhism, ceremonial practices and the art of gardening. These facets of Chinese culture became revered and respected as a part of Japanese daily life. Chinese diplomatic relations had developed by the Tang dynasty (618-

⁵ C. Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture In Ming Dynasty China*, London, 1996, p. 13.

⁶ M. Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art And Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2003, p. 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

907),⁸ and in the words of historian S.A.M. Adshead: “With embassies coming from Korea, Japan, and Indonesia, the Tang was the first continental empire to organise an adjacent maritime space, a satellite system better articulated than the Byzantine Black Sea, the Merovingian North Sea or the Celtic Sea of the Irish monks.”⁹ Whether connections were cultural, diplomatic or strategic, they were important to the later development of each country.¹⁰

Chinese and Korean travellers also visited Japan to seek refuge from injustices in their own country. One such immigrant introduced the first known garden into Japan. The *Nihon-Shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*, compiled in 720) records a man named Roji-no-Takumi arriving in Japan from the Korean Kingdom of Paekché in 612.¹¹ Banished from Paekché, Roji-no-Takumi sought refuge in Japan.¹² He was skilled, in what records describe as “making hills and mountains”¹³ or gardening. Such were his skills that he was summoned by the Empress Suiko (592-628) and commissioned to make a garden for her Southern Court. The garden featured recreated miniatures of the Bridge of Wu and of Mount Sumeru.¹⁴ Mount Sumeru is the symbolic centre of the Buddhist world and the bridge was a recreation of the high-arched, red-lacquered original in Wu village (modern day Wuhan). According to art historian François Berthier, Mount Sumeru is “clothed in fragrant trees; at its summit is the palace of Indra, King of the Hindu pantheon; on its slopes are stationed the Four Celestial Kings who

⁸ S.A.M. Adshead, *China In World History*, Basingstoke and New York, 2000, p. 103.

⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

¹¹ M. P. Keane, *Japanese Garden Design*, Boston, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 2004, pp. 26-27.

¹² Ibid., pp. 26-27.

¹³ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

guard the four cardinal points.”¹⁵ Roji-no-Takumi built a garden worthy of the Empress and one that was to be imitated and revered as the first recorded Japanese garden.

Following Roji-no-Takumi’s example, aristocrats and wealthy individuals such as the nobleman and early Buddhist advocate, Soga-no-Umako (551-626), quickly became garden enthusiasts.¹⁶ Umako commissioned a garden for his palace which featured an artificial pond with an island. This became a tradition in gardening which was later imitated throughout the Japanese archipelago. Umako became known as its promulgator, with his colleagues and acquaintances playfully naming him Shima-no-Otodo (‘Great Minister of the Island’).¹⁷ This style of garden became so popular in the seventh and eighth centuries that the word ‘*shima*’ (island) was used for the garden, until ‘*niwa*’ was employed in the late eighth century.¹⁸ The earliest recorded use of *niwa* was in the *Man’yōshū*, an eighth century poetry anthology.¹⁹ In that text, *niwa* referred to the sea, which furthermore associates the garden with the idea of an island surrounded by water.²⁰ The use of these words as a substitute for ‘garden’ also introduces the idea of the ‘miniature’. Contemporaries regarded the islands and ponds as ‘miniatures’ of the world. In the seventh and eighth centuries, the Japanese garden usually consisted of two inalienable elements, the pond and the island. The necessity of water in Japanese gardens in this period was adopted from Chinese gardens and espoused by Confucian philosophy, as Confucius said, “the wise find pleasure in water; the virtuous find pleasure in hills.”²¹ As base elements, the pond facilitated viewing the reflection of the moon

¹⁵ F. Berthier, *Reading Zen in The Rocks: The Japanese Dry Landscape Garden*, Chicago and London, 2000, p. 13.

¹⁶ K. Nakane, *Kyoto Gardens*, Osaka, 1977, p. 98.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁹ Keane, 2004, p. 10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²¹ K. Bradley-Hole, *Stone, Rock & Gravel: Natural Features For Modern Gardens*, London, 2000, p. 15.

and boating, both of which were fashionable pastimes. Islands provided docking stations and symbolic references to important spiritual and religious places and legends.

(ii) Symbolism And The Japanese Garden

The myth of the Isles of the Immortals is well-known in both China and Japan. Originating in China as a Daoist legend, the tale identifies five magical and mysterious islands situated somewhere in the ocean. According to legend, these islands were “covered with forests of pearls and coral, filled with birds and animals of dazzling white, and inhabited by fairies and hermits that knew neither old age nor death. Human beings hardy enough to voyage as far as these mysterious islands were said to have attained the secret of unfading youth and eternal life.”²² Many searched in vain to find these famed isles, but to no avail as the islands were said to vanish at the sight of uninitiated humans.²³ The Chinese Emperor Wudi (156-87 BCE) commissioned a recreation of these Isles within his garden, hoping to thereby receive ethereal benevolence.²⁴ This initiated the tradition of including recreations of the Isles of the Immortals in Chinese and Japanese gardens.²⁵

In Japanese gardens, symbolism proliferates for islands. Another popular tale in Pacific Island and Asian communities is the legend of sea turtles transporting land to the surface of the ocean on their shells. Berthier states: “since these marine mountains floated and drifted in

²² Berthier, p. 12.

²³ Bradley-Hole, p. 15.

²⁴ Berthier, p. 12.

²⁵ Examples of Hōrai Islands included in gardens discussed later in this chapter. These include the Daisen-in created by the Zen monk, Musō Soseki (1275-1351), in 1339. Hōrai Islands are also seen in many gardens owned by *daimyō* (feudal lords), such as Kenroku-en in Kanazawa, Ishikawa prefecture, created by the Maeda clan, *daimyō* of the Kaga Province, in 1620-1840. This island was also symbolically referenced in New Zealand’s Hamilton Gardens, designed by Peter Sergel, Michael Morris and Mark de Lisle in 1995-1997, discussed in Chapter Three.

the ocean, the Emperor of Heaven ordained that turtles should act as pillars in order to stabilise them and keep them still.”²⁶ This is coupled with the Japanese folk tale which tells the story of a young fisherman, Urashima Tarō, who saves a sea turtle from death. The turtle thanks the fisherman by taking him to one of the Isles of the Immortals: “[t]here the young man marries a beautiful princess, whereupon time stands still. But when, eventually overcome with homesickness, he forms the desire to see his village again and goes back among human beings, he immediately becomes old and dies.”²⁷ Turtles are symbolically connected with longevity and with islands, and have been commonly paired with cranes which also symbolise longevity.²⁸ Thus, recreations of *kamejima* (turtle island) and *tsurujima* (crane island) have become popular features in Japanese gardens.²⁹ These turtle and crane islands are usually created with specific rock arrangements which suggest essential features of these creatures.³⁰

(iii) Shintō And Saniwa Gardens

Japan’s native religion of Shintō is a faith based on a deep respect for nature. According to the Shintō faith, rocks, mountains and trees are believed to be the abodes of the Shintō gods, *kami*, whilst they visit the temporal realm of earth. Nature is therefore considered sacred.³¹ Sacred boulders (*iwakura*), sacred ponds (*kami ike*) and sacred trees (*shinboku*) are all used within ancient Shintō prayer ceremonies.³² This respect for nature is reflected in Shintō

²⁶ Berthier, p. 13.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 13.

²⁹ A. Main, and N. Platten, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 9. For example, the Daisen-in garden features a *tsurujima* (crane island) and *kamejima* (turtle island) in its east garden which surrounds the priests quarters, *hōjō*. See following section, Daisen-in.

³⁰ Turtle Islands (*kamejima*) and Crane Islands (*tsurujima*) are popular features of many Japanese gardens such as in Japanese garden designer, Mirei Shigemori’s (1896-1975), *Shishin Sōō no Niwa at Massho Honzan Sekizō-ji*, Ichijima, Hyogo, 1972. These islands are also symbolically referenced in New Zealand’s Hamilton Gardens, designed by Peter Sergel, Michael Morris and Mark de Lisle in 1995-1997, discussed in Chapter Three.

³¹ S. Ono, *Shintō: The Kami Way*, Rutland, Vermont, Boston, and Tokyo, 2004, p. 7.

³² J. Takei, and M. P. Keane, *Sakuteiki; Visions Of The Japanese Garden; A Modern Translation Of Japan’s Gardening Classic*, Boston, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 2001, p. 197.

shrines which are often located near such sacred natural phenomena. Shrines are often surrounded by large forests which can be used for recreation, contemplation and religious activities. In these large forests, roped gravelled areas (*shiki-no-himorogi*) demarcate sacred spaces.³³ These areas are recreated in the small areas of jagged white pebbles, sand or gravel which surround many shrine buildings, called *saniwa*, or sand gardens.³⁴ Some scholars claim that these *saniwa* are the precursors to the *karesansui* or dry landscape gardens which became popular in the late Kamakura period (1185-1333) and the Muromachi period (1333 -1568), which I will later discuss.³⁵ The most sacred Shintō shrine in Japan is the Ise Jingū (Ise Shrine), which is located in the middle of lush Japanese *cyptomeria* forest in Ise, Mie Prefecture. (Figure 1) According to legend, Ise Jingū was established by Princess Yamatohime-no-mikoto, the daughter of Emperor Suinin (r. 29 BCE – 70 CE). Since 685, the two main buildings of the shrine (the Naikū and the Gekū) have been reconstructed alternatively every twenty years in a sacred ceremony called *Shikinen Sengu*.³⁶ The shrine is therefore forever renewed and the shrine buildings can never decay or erode. One of the most important aspects of Shintō is its purity. For example, before visiting shrines, followers of Shintō purify themselves by washing their hands and sipping water. This signifies a clean physical presence and a clean spirit. Shrines are also known for their cleanliness, neatness and non-cluttered features, which has been compared to Modernist aesthetics, discussed in Chapter Two.³⁷

³³ D. Young and M. Young, *The Art Of The Japanese Garden*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Boston, Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, 2005, p. 66.

³⁴ K. Arnold, *Circle Of The Way*, Portland, Oregon, 2000, p. 129.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 129. This idea is also mentioned in Young and Young, p. 66.

³⁶ K. Nute, *Place, Time, And Being In Japanese Architecture*, London, 2004, p. 67.

³⁷ Ise Jingū has been compared to Modernist aesthetics. See J. M. Reynolds, 'Ise Shrine and a Modernist Construction of Japanese Tradition' in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (Jun., 2001), New York, 2001, pp. 316-341.

(iv) Gardens Of The Nara Period (646-794)

The earliest extant gardens in Japan can be traced to the Nara period (646-794). As well as the words *shima* and *niwa* which were used as the term for ‘garden’ at this time, the Sino-Japanese term *teien* was employed. Two extant Nara period gardens are the To-in Teien and Heijō-kyō Sakyō Sanjō Nibō Kyūseki or simply the Kyūseki Teien, both located in Nara, Nara Prefecture. The To-in Teien was commissioned by Empress Shotoku (718-770, r. 749-758, 764-770) in the eighth century and is located within the Heijō Palace. Re-discovered in 1967 it was excavated and restored over the next thirty years.³⁸ This 1.7 acre garden was re-opened in 1998 and features a recreated Isle of the Immortals, Hōrai Island, with two bridges extending from two pavilions to a pebble beach (*suhami*) which encompasses the circumference of the pond.³⁹ (Figure 2) The Kyūseki Teien was the central palace garden of the Heijō-kyō, the capital of Japan during the Nara period and features an ‘S’ shaped stream with many miniature pines and small pebble beaches on either side. (Figure 3) In both of these gardens, architecture features prominently, which has remained an essential part of garden making in Japan.

Architecture serves as a viewing platform and a geomantic centring device according to the principles of *fengshui*.⁴⁰ The Chinese geomantic philosophy, which uses ancient Chinese directional properties for a site or room, was introduced into Japan in the sixth century.⁴¹ The process of organisation of a garden is very important, as art historian Itō Teiji explains: “Geomantically... the best site is one that has a river on the east, a pond on the south, a highway on the west, and a hill on the north because these things correspond to certain divine creatures. The stream corresponds to a blue dragon, the pond to a crimson bird, the highway

³⁸ Main and Platten, p. 74.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴⁰ T. Itō, *The Gardens Of Japan*, Tokyo, New York, and London, 1984, p. 25.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

to a white tiger, and the hill to a black turtle.”⁴² These creatures have been referenced within many gardens, such as twentieth century Japanese garden designer, Mirei Shigemori’s (1896-1975), *Shishin Sōō no Niwa* at Massho Honzan Sekizō-ji, Ichijima, Hyogo, 1972, discussed in Chapter Two. The gardens at the To-in Teien and the Kyūseki Teien comprise a layout and structure which correspond to the guidelines of the *fengshui* geomantic elements. (Figure 4) This is especially so for the Kyūseki Teien garden. The entrance and viewing pavilion is on the west, while the stream forms a small pond in the south of the garden which is fed by a reservoir sourced from the Kamogawa River to the east. This illustrates the power of Chinese thinking over the designs of Japanese gardens at this time, the precursors to the more stylistically developed gardens of the Heian period (794-1184).⁴³ From the Heian period onwards, one text set the regulations of Japanese garden design, the *Sakuteiki*.

(v) The Sakuteiki

The *Sakuteiki* (*Records Of Garden Making*) is Japan’s oldest and most respected garden construction manifesto. Written by the eleventh century nobleman, Tachibana no Toshitsuna (1028-1094), it describes the proper arrangement and placement of elements in a garden. It is most important for its practical, functional and instructional value and for providing a detailed picture of the Japanese garden and its development in this period. The first words of the text indicate what the author believes to be the most important aspect of a garden: *ishi wo taten koto*, literally the art of setting stones, by which he meant ‘the art of garden making’.⁴⁴

The *Sakuteiki* espouses the importance of *ishitate-sō* (stone-setting priests).⁴⁵ The title

⁴² Itō, p. 26.

⁴³ The idea of *fengshui* was of the utmost importance to designers of gardens in Japan and designers of Japanese-inspired gardens created elsewhere. Peter Sergel, one of the designers of Hamilton Gardens’ Japanese garden, stated that they were extremely concerned with correctly orientating the rocks within their *karesansui* (‘dry landscape’) garden. They received assistance with this task by two stone-setters from Japan. From interview with the author, May 1st 2009.

⁴⁴ Takei and Keane, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

attributed to these priests illustrates the importance of rocks to their faith. Some priests utilised the medium of the rock garden to create a material location in which to meditate. The *Sakuteiki* relates that “stones are imperative when making a garden.”⁴⁶ The selection, proportions, orientation, arrangement and placement of stones remained an important consideration for many Japanese garden designers thereafter. It is often the stones or rocks which set the mood of the garden. The rules of this art, according to the *Sakuteiki*, must be adhered to strictly.

One of the guidelines of the *Sakuteiki* is the idea of *kowan ni shitagau*, which means “to follow the request [of the rock]”.⁴⁷ A garden designer can adhere to this concept if they position a rock as it was in nature. The orientation, arrangement and placement of the rock are encapsulated within this regulation. The patina or weathering of age can assist with the categorisation of rocks. For example, if a rock has a riverbed patina, it could only be used in a riverbed-themed garden. Weathering is extremely important in rock gathering and setting: an intricately weathered rock is considered valuable in Japan. Intricate weathering on rocks can give a garden structural integrity, as well as an aesthetic, theme or spirit which evokes a particular atmosphere. But in most gardens in Japan it is considered important to at least match the rocks one selects. Each rock’s composition, colour, and texture depends on its location. One cannot mix ‘local’ rocks and ‘traveller’ rocks together, for this would interrupt the continuity of the garden.⁴⁸ ‘Local’ rocks are rocks gathered nearby whilst ‘traveller’ rocks have been sourced from further afield. One therefore cannot match a riverbed rock with

⁴⁶ Takei and Keane, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

⁴⁸ Itō, p. 189. Examples of this can be seen in the *karesansui* (‘dry landscape’) garden at Ryōan-ji, discussed later, where rocks have been sourced locally. This creates an atmosphere akin to a lake or stream, even though water is absent. In New Zealand, Japanese-inspired gardens were also made according to this idea. Each garden discussed in Chapter Three has sourced their rocks from local areas to thereby guarantee their suitability in their new environment.

a mountain rock in a garden because their diverging characters would create a confused aesthetic.

Another idea important to the *Sakuteiki* is *fuzei*. The two Japanese characters which make up the term *fuzei* mean wind and emotion, and refer to the atmosphere of a place.⁴⁹ A garden designer can utilise this concept by recreating a certain place or landscape feature in a garden by evoking the atmosphere or spirit of that place.⁵⁰ This recreated atmosphere or spirit is the *fuzei* of that place. *Fuzei* is created when a gardener senses the key elements of a natural landscape and recreates or reinterprets those elements within a garden. This allows a cliff or mountain peak to be reduced to one angular rock, or the ocean to be reduced to a pond within a garden. Sensitivity and suggestion guide a gardener in creating *fuzei* in a garden. Whilst arranging stones and vegetation according to the *fuzei* of the recreated landscape, designers tended to follow certain arrangement conventions set by the *Sakuteiki*. There are seventeen prescriptions listed that warn of great harm if stones are not set in the proper ways.⁵¹ These prohibitions correlate with the guidelines relating to *kowan ni shitagau*, *fengshui* and *fuzei* and are therefore important to the spiritual health of the garden, its designer and gardeners. Tachibana no Toshitsuna's father, Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992-1074), designed, as art historian Marc P. Keane states, "two of the [Heian] period's most famous gardens, Kaya-no-in, a grand Kyoto Estate, and Byōdō-in, in Uji. We can assume therefore, that Toshitsuna was

⁴⁹ Takei and Keane, p. 42.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 42-43.

⁵¹ Some of these prohibitions include: "1. If a stone that is naturally vertical in orientation in the garden, it will invariably be possessed by a spirit and cause a curse. 2. No stone more than 5 *shaku* (about 1.5 metres) in height may be set east-northeast since it will then become the demon that enters from the unlucky northeast direction. 3. If a stone higher than the level of the veranda floor is set near to the house, misfortunes will follow one upon another, and the master of the house will not abide there long. This restriction does not apply to Buddhist temples or Shintō shrines. 4. Setting a stone adjacent to the southwest post of the house will cause illness in the family. 5. If a horizontally orientated stone is set facing northwest, wealth will not accumulate in the storehouse." See Itō, p. 193.

exposed to the art of garden-making by observing his father's work.”⁵² The two following gardens can therefore be seen as representations of the *Sakuteiki*'s doctrines.

(vi) Gardens Of The Heian Period (794-1184)

Aristocratic gardens dominated the types of gardens made in the Heian period. To show their dominance, both politically and culturally, many members of the aristocracy, such as the Fujiwara family, created gardens on their estates. Widely regarded as a 'golden age' of Japanese cultural achievement, most gardens of this period were extensive and luxurious, in the words of Berthier:

All available elements were put to work: trees, grasses and flowers, sand, rocks, and water. Even bird and fish contributed to the composition. There was also a preference for deciduous trees, whose shapes and colours would vary with the changing seasons: their flowers would blossom in spring, their foliage become green in the summer and then red in autumn, and their branches grow bare in winter. Thanks to the eternal cycle of the seasons, these gardens would exemplify the Buddhist teaching of the incessant cycle of death and rebirth, while also displaying the ephemeral character of this world in which everything continually changes.⁵³

Heian domestic gardens were made by garden-makers, *niwa-shi*. In contrast, most imperial gardens were designed by the Emperors or Princes themselves with the assistance of advisors. The primary function of these gardens was pleasure, leisure and amusement. Poetry readings,

⁵² Keane, 2004, p. 38.

⁵³ Berthier, pp. 3-5.

music recitals, theatrical performances and moon-viewing were common forms of entertainment, and the garden served as a pleasant setting.

The character of Heian period gardens is identified by art historians with the aesthetics of *miyabi*, an aesthetic which is inflected within many aspects of art and culture. Princes and aristocrats strived for their gardens to demonstrate *miyabi*, that is to say, courtly elegance and refined taste.⁵⁴ This idea was only surpassed by one other concern which eventually became known as the characteristic aesthetic of the Heian period. *Mono-no-aware* is translated as a heightened awareness of things and is based upon an intense emotion, usually melancholia, in response to the passing of nature's seasons and life itself.⁵⁵ In this way, gardens were often perceived as a series of picturesque scenes representing the different states of nature, as discussed in the passage above, often viewed from a boat. Such leisure activities can still be vicariously enjoyed through Murasaki Shikibu's (973-1025) classic novel, *The Tale of Genji*, written circa 1000.⁵⁶

A preeminent extant example of Heian architecture and gardening is the Byōdō-in Temple on the banks of Uji River. (Figure 5) Created in the eleventh century by the governing regents, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966-1027) and his son Yorimichi (992-1074), Byōdō-in was intended as an earthly representation of the Pure Land, Sukhavati or Amida's Western Paradise. It was dedicated to the Buddha Amitābha (known as Amida in Japan).⁵⁷ The temple and garden were lavishly decorated, the pinnacle of the complex being a golden statue of the Amida in the Phoenix Hall or the Hōōdō. The Phoenix Hall was originally named the Amida Hall or the Amidadō, but over time it became known as the Phoenix Hall as it resembled a

⁵⁴ Keane, 2004, p. 34.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁶ S. Murasaki, *The Tale of Genji*, Translated by A. Waley, London, 1973.

⁵⁷ Itō, p. 27.

Phoenix in flight.⁵⁸ The garden is an important element of the temple's overall aesthetic of the Western Paradise. The Phoenix Hall is orientated towards the east, with most of the pond situated immediately in front of the hall.⁵⁹ (Figure 5) The pond surrounding the temple was shaped in the Sanskrit letter 'A', the first letter of Amida.⁶⁰ When the sun rises its light hits the surface of the pond and reflects onto the sculpture of the Amida. This display of dappled, intense light is seen as a beautiful omen sent from heaven to earth which connects the temple with its heavenly counterpart. Although the *Sakuteiki* does not mention Amida or Pure Land Buddhism at all, the Byōdō-in reflects the idea of creating a subtle atmosphere that the *Sakuteiki* espouses. The atmosphere of the Western Paradise is recreated interpretatively through several key elements such as the pond's orientation and shape as well as the architectural style and appearance. As the *Sakuteiki* states, "Ponds may also be made in the shape of felicitous words written in *kana* script."⁶¹ The shape of the pond into Amida's first character clearly corresponds to this passage.

Kaya-no-in was Fujiwara no Yorimichi's Kyoto estate and is mentioned in the *Sakuteiki*. Toshitsuna states in reference to taboos on gardening,

To make a garden by studying nature exclusively, without any knowledge of various taboos, is reckless. With the building of the palace, Kaya-no-in, there was no one proficient in gardening, just people who thought they might be of some help. In the end, displeased with the results, Lord Uji took the task of designing the garden upon himself. I often visited the site at that time and

⁵⁸ K. Nishikawa and E. J. Sano, *The Great Age Of Japanese Buddhist Sculpture AD 600 -1300*, Fort Worth, Texas, 1982, p. 33.

⁵⁹ S. C. Morse, 'Jōchō's Statue Of Amida At The Byōdō-in And Cultural Legitimization In Late Heian Japan', in Brown, Rebecca, and Hutton, Deborah S., (eds.) *Asian Art*, Malden, Massachusetts, 2006, p. 298.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

⁶¹ Takei and Keane, p. 193.

was able to observe and study.⁶²

Lord Uji was a common appellation for Fujiwara no Yorimichi in this period due to his country house in Uji.⁶³ Through Heian period accounts of the Kaya-no-in garden one can get a sense of its composition. Buildings and pavilions formed the centrepiece of the garden and were surrounded on all four sides by three ponds. The south pond was significantly larger and featured an island connected to each shore by a vermillion bridge. The ponds were connected by small streams, which sourced their water from two nearby canals which ran adjacent to the east and west sides of the property.⁶⁴ As art historians Takei Jirō and Marc P. Keane explain, “a racetrack and horse-viewing grounds were also constructed on the property”,⁶⁵ which were located on the north eastern side of the four-chō property. Property sizes in the Heian period were measured in chō. One chō was approximately 120 metres by 120 metres in size, and was the typical allotment for aristocrats of the third rank or higher. A four-chō allotment was rare, representing an area, as Takei and Keane state, “four times the normal size of a high-ranking nobleman’s estate.”⁶⁶ This property hosted many festivals and was immortalised in paintings such as the lengthy scroll, *Koma Kurabe Gyōkō Emaki*, 1024.⁶⁷ (Figure 6) This scroll depicts musicians on a boat on its way to the musician’s stage (*gakuya*) on an island across the water from the main residence. Six men sit upon the veranda of the main hall whilst a seventh, possibly Yorimichi himself, sits inside. The curtains conceal the princesses whose presence is only signalled with a depiction of fabric of their kimono being revealed from beneath the curtain. Takei and Keane explain that, “A large Japanese maple frames the corner of the veranda, its fallen leaves floating on the surface of the pond. The cranes and

⁶² Takei and Keane, p. 196.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 196.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 146-147.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

turtle by the shoreline are images of felicity rather than actual garden pets.”⁶⁸ The Kaya-no-in garden reflects the concept of *miyabi* through its elegance and refinement, and also *mono-no-aware* through the choice of maple trees whose leaves can be scattered by the wind. These ideas are attempted within later gardens, especially within the Edo period. Having examined the Heian period’s water-based gardens, the focus will now turn to the other traditional style of Japanese gardens, the rock-based garden.

(vii) Gardens of the Late Kamakura Period (1185-1333) and the Muromachi Period (1333 -1568)

By the fourteenth and fifteen centuries, gardens in Japan had radically changed. The Heian period garden with its islands and ponds still proliferated as a popular style, but by the late Kamakura period (1185-1333) and the Muromachi period (1333 -1568), a new variation of this style became popular: stroll gardens. Coupled with this innovation, a way of setting stones which was centuries old became prominent: *karesansui* or dry landscape gardens. The term *karesansui* translates as “withered mountains water”⁶⁹ but is more frequently referred to as ‘dry landscape’ or ‘stone-and-gravel’ or even ‘Zen’ garden.⁷⁰ The last of those descriptions is slightly misleading because some of these gardens were not related to Zen Buddhism, or any religious school.⁷¹ Nevertheless, such gardens were very common among Zen devotees, constructed with serenity and contemplation as their goal. Although this style of gardening came to the forefront of the gardening culture of Japan, it had been part of preceding gardening techniques. In the *Sakuteiki*, the author defines *karesansui* as: “to create gardens

⁶⁸ Takei and Keane, p. 27.

⁶⁹ Itō, p. 85.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 85.

⁷¹ Some examples of a *karesansui* garden divorced from Zen Buddhism or any religious school are the Kishiwada-jō Hachi-jin no Niwa (Kishiwada Castle and Garden of Eight Battle Formations) 1953, the Kuwata Residence in Hiroshima, 1957, Tenrai-an Teian (Garden at the Hermitage for the Enjoyment of Nature’s Sounds), 1969, all by designer Mirei Shigemori. New Zealand’s Japanese-inspired *karesansui* gardens also share this absence of religious or spiritual aspects. The public garden examples discussed in Chapter Three both include *torii*, traditional Shintō entrance-ways, included to be in keeping with traditional forms rather than religious or spiritual reference or necessity.

without ponds or streams.”⁷² This is accurate of *karesansui* gardens. However, in the period which the *Sakuteiki* was written, it seems all gardens were set around ponds so to exclude them would have seemed unusual.⁷³ The *Sakuteiki* seems to suggest that a *karesansui* garden is just one portion of a wider garden, that is to say, an area within a garden without water. Yet in later periods, just because water was physically excluded did not signal its symbolic exclusion. Gravel, rocks, stones and sand were sometimes used to represent water. The gravel or sand was raked into flowing rivulet patterns, and rocks were set in positions as if at the top of a waterfall or in a riverbed underneath a torrent of water.

There were several benefits to this style of gardening, the most prevalent of which was that a gardener would not have to proceed in the most daunting task of excavating a site for a pond, stream or lake within a garden. Moreover, a nearby waterway or tributary did not require diverting to feed the stream within a garden. Maintenance and weeding was less of a necessity as the soil had been compacted beneath the gravel, sand, stones and rocks. The cost of the individual parts of the garden was less than a pond-based garden. Furthermore, a *karesansui* garden was usually smaller than a water-based garden, and therefore the cost of its site was minimised. In the Muromachi period, one important element of the garden was the viewing position. The garden was viewed from the abbot’s house (*hōjō*) or from a building for cultural pursuits (*shoin*). As these buildings were usually modest in size, so was the garden. Many historians believe the Zen Buddhist’s predilection for modestly sized gardens was unfortunate because most of the features of the Heian period garden were lost.⁷⁴

However, garden sizes were also reduced due to a transition in the wider public’s aesthetic

⁷² Takei and Keane, p. 161.

⁷³ Ibid., 161.

⁷⁴ Z. Hrdlička, and V. Hrdličková, and T. Sawano, (ed.) *The Art Of Japanese Gardening*, London, 1989, p. 52.

preference coupled with the governing family's division of the land, population growth and a lack of suitable building sites.⁷⁵

(viii) Zen Buddhism And The *Karesansui* Garden

A Buddhist's ultimate aspiration is to attain enlightenment. Zen adepts set out to achieve this in many ways: contemplation and meditation, coupled with solving *kōan* (riddles set by a Zen student's master) and long periods of manual labour, were the most prevalent methods. One aspect of enlightenment is liberating oneself from earthly concerns and focusing upon a more 'natural' way of life. Creating, maintaining and viewing a *karesansui* garden could assist with all of these pathways to enlightenment. From the time of its introduction into Japan there were five houses of Zen Buddhism, Igyo, Ummon, Hogen, Rinzai and Sōtō.⁷⁶ However, that number was reduced to two main branches, Rinzai and Sōtō, during the Meiji period (1868-1912) when Shintō was established as the state religion.⁷⁷ The Rinzai sect sees the *karesansui* garden as an important part of Zen faith and practice whereas the Sōtō sect sees gardens of any kind as luxurious or a distraction from the essential practice of meditation. In the words of historian Kevin Trainor: "Sōtō rejects the use of techniques or goals in meditation as misleading."⁷⁸ The goal-oriented Rinzai sect utilises what Trainor describes as "psychological tools"⁷⁹ to achieve a sudden enlightenment whereas the Sōtō sect advocates enlightenment as a gradual occurrence. A *karesansui* garden is one example of the Rinzai sect's tools to achieve enlightenment. The *karesansui* garden is a monk's responsibility and illustrates his progress towards enlightenment. In a way, a devotee to the Rinzai sect believes, as Japanese philosopher Nishitani Keiji explains: "the garden is my Zen master".⁸⁰

⁷⁵ A.T. Mason, *History Of Japan*, Boston, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 1972, pp. 74-75.

⁷⁶ M. Fowler, *Zen Buddhism: Beliefs And Practices*, Sussex, 2005, pp. 92-95.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁷⁸ K. Trainor, *Buddhism: The Illustrated Guide*, Oxford, 2004, p. 154.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁸⁰ Nishitani Keiji cited in Berthier, p. 136.

Until the Muromachi period, the art of Zen Buddhism was limited to sculpture and painting. But even these art forms were rarely seen in a monastery or temple because monks disliked idolatry and cared little for owning objects.⁸¹ The garden served as an alternative method for the Rinzai monks to express their beliefs. Another way to attain enlightenment was if a monk approached “the ultimate truth”.⁸² It was believed that a Zen monk could reveal the “ultimate truth”⁸³ of nature through portraying nature’s essence and pure spirit in a garden which illustrated nature at its barest. As Berthier explains, “By reducing nature to its smallest dimensions and bringing it back to its simplest expression, one can extract its essence.”⁸⁴ The *karesansui* garden was therefore most important to the Rinzai Zen Buddhist faith as adherents believed it revealed nature’s “ultimate truth”.⁸⁵

(ix) Saihō-ji

The advantages of the *karesansui* garden, in addition to being advocated by the shoguns of the Ashikaga family, led to the proliferation of the *karesansui* garden.⁸⁶ Zen monks enjoyed their position of authority alongside the members of the Ashikaga court, sharing their devout faith, knowledge and power.⁸⁷ The Zen monk, Musō Soseki (1275-1351), championed the *karesansui* style and became so renowned that he was given the name *Kokushi* or ‘national

⁸¹ This is in contrast to Buddhism’s impact on China. When Buddhism was introduced in China in the first century CE, it began to have an impact upon the way in which people viewed their surroundings and objects within their environment. The Chinese developed a material culture due to this new way of thinking and became interested in the objects, new buildings, and rituals associated with Buddhism. This is in contrast to how the Japanese responded to the same ideas inherent in Buddhism. See J. Kieschnick, *The Impact Of Buddhism On Chinese Material Culture*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2003.

⁸² J. D. Parker, *Zen Buddhist Landscape Arts Of Early Muromachi Japan (1336-1573)*, Albany, New York, 1999, p. 163.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 163.

⁸⁴ Berthier, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁵ Parker, p. 163.

⁸⁶ Z. Hrdlička, and V. Hrdličková, and T. Sawano, (ed.) *The Art Of Japanese Gardening*, London, 1989, p. 54. The Ashikaga shogunate was the feudal military dictatorship who ruled Japan between 1338-1573. See R.H.P Mason, and J.G. Caiger, *A History Of Japan*, Rutland, Vermont, and Boston, 1997, p. 139.

⁸⁷ Z. Hrdlička, and V. Hrdličková, and T. Sawano, (ed.) p. 54.

teacher', a title bestowed by the Emperor to very select few.⁸⁸ In his text *Dream Dialogues*, Musō Soseki wrote: "He who distinguishes between the garden and practice cannot be said to have found the true Way."⁸⁹ Musō Soseki's experience was extensive: he began his studies in the esoteric philosophy of Shingon. But after becoming dissatisfied with the study and sutra-based Shingon faith, he converted to Zen.⁹⁰ He joined the monastery of Kennin-ji in 1294 at the age of nineteen.⁹¹ Soon Musō became interested in garden design and creation. Records of a garden in his very distinctive style date from 1312.⁹² Musō was enlisted at Eihō-ji Temple in the province of Mino before he established his own temple, Zuisen-ji, at Kamakura.⁹³

In 1339, Musō Soseki was commissioned by nobleman Fujiwara Chikahide (1288–1341) to transform the formerly Jōdō Pure Buddhist sect temple at Saihō-ji into a Zen Buddhist temple.⁹⁴ Saihō-ji had fallen into disarray in the early fourteenth century, and Musō was enlisted to return it to its former glory. Very little of the original garden remains due to later wars, but what endures is a beautiful remnant of an elevated and sophisticated design. (Figure 7) The Saihō-ji garden is divided into two parts, the Lower and Upper gardens. The Lower Garden was a Heian period style pond garden which Musō preserved in its essential forms. One important change was a walkway surrounding the circumference of the lake. This initiated a strolling theme to this garden, which as noted earlier, later became a very popular part of garden design. This variation possibly arose from the reduction of garden sizes

⁸⁸ Itō, p. 86.

⁸⁹ S. Nagatomo, and P. D. Winfield, 'The Japanese Garden: Seeing And Cultivating Micro-Macrocosmic Correlativity', in S. B. Plate, *Religion, Art And Visual Culture: A Cross-Cultural Reader*, New York and Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2002, p. 146.

⁹⁰ H. Brinker, and H. Kanazawa, and A. Leisinger, 'ZEN Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings' in *Artibus Asiae Supplementum*, Vol. 40, ZEN Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings (1996), p. 79.

⁹¹ Berthier, p. 20.

⁹² Ibid., p. 20.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 20.

⁹⁴ H. Masao, *The Garden Art Of Japan*, New York and Tokyo, 1984, p. 59.

rendering boating increasingly difficult. The lake in the Lower Garden is referred to as ‘the Golden Lake’, shaped like the Chinese character for ‘heart’.⁹⁵ The pond was laid out to extend lengthways through the garden punctuated only by symbolic turtle and crane islands. The pond has inlets framed by trees, reeds and shrubbery.⁹⁶

Musō utilised two sources for the Saihō-ji garden: first, the instructional text *Biyanlu* created in China’s Song dynasty (960–1279 CE), and called the *Hekiganroku* (Record of the Blue Cliff) by Japanese Zen Buddhists.⁹⁷ Second, the Upper Garden of the Saihō-ji represents the “impure temporal world”⁹⁸, based on a Chinese myth which tells the tale of the meeting between a man named Xiong Xiucan and the Zen abbot, Liang. There are several references to this story within the Upper Garden at Saihō-ji. As Itō Teiji states: “a mural by Shūi Mutō depicting the incident is said to have been on the wall of a small Buddha hall called the Shitō-an that once stood in this part of the garden.”⁹⁹ Furthermore, the path ascending towards the Upper Garden is a recreation of the path up Mount Xishan in Hong Province, the location of the mythical meeting.¹⁰⁰ When one reaches the top of the path and views the garden, its dominant feature is a stone called the Zazen-stone, meaning “seated meditation”, recreating the stone which priest Liang sat upon in the myth.¹⁰¹

The Upper Garden is constructed on three levels within dense forest. The visitor proceeds up a series of steps to a clearing of embedded rocks. This rock garden covers over twenty square metres including large angular rocks gathered in groups ranging from the low rocks on the top level to larger rocks on the base level. In the Upper Garden is a *karedaki* (‘dry waterfall’),

⁹⁵ Hrdlička and Hrdličková and Sawano, (ed.), p. 58.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 58.

⁹⁷ Itō, p. 111.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 112.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 112.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 112.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 112.

with the rocks descending down the three levels as if they came about through a torrent of water.¹⁰² Even though it was designed, it seems as if the rocks naturally occurred in this way. In both Upper and Lower gardens, time has created the best effects: moss has formed a green carpet covering the island and surrounding areas of the pond in the Lower Garden. (Figure 7) Lichen and other small growths have added natural beauty to the rocks of the Upper Garden. The moss was certainly not desired by Musō as sand was originally used. Nevertheless, during the Meiji period (1868-1912), the temple lacked funds for maintenance, and moss soon grew copiously upon the formerly white-hued banks. This has become a favoured part of the temple, eliciting a new appellation for the temple, Kokedera, the Moss Temple. Whether the growth or entropic distillations of time were foreseen by Musō or not, Saihō-ji was an escape from tradition, in the words of art historian Graham Parkes, “inaugurating dry landscape as an independent style.”¹⁰³

(x) Ryōan-ji

Arguably, the most famous example of *karesansui* is the garden of Ryōan-ji. (Figure 8) The site of the Ryōan-ji garden was originally owned by Tokudaiji Saneyoshi (1095-1157), an important twelfth-century nobleman. It was purchased by military leader Hosokawa Katsumoto (1430-1473) in 1450 and converted into a Zen temple. The abbot's quarters were built after the Onin War of 1467-77,¹⁰⁴ when Ryōan-ji was devastated by fire. This rebuilding work was undertaken in 1488 by the son of Katsumoto, Hosokawa Masamoto (1466-1507), and completed in 1499.¹⁰⁵ At this time, scholars agree, the garden was also built. It is a modestly sized garden which illustrates the key aspects of the concept of dry landscape gardens. The south side of the Ryōan-ji abbot's quarters (*hōjō*) faces the garden which

¹⁰² I. Yoshikawa, *The World Of Zen Gardens*, Tokyo, 1991, p. 17.

¹⁰³ G. Parkes, 'The Role Of Rock In The Japanese Dry Landscape Garden' in Berthier, pp. 109-110.

¹⁰⁴ Masao, 1984, p. 91.

¹⁰⁵ Berthier, p. 31.

consists of white gravel raked into straight lines with circling patterns around the circumference of fifteen stones set within five groups. This garden is enclosed by a plain white-washed wall with a screen of red pines and maples which allows constant concentration to be focused upon the garden.¹⁰⁶ There is no vegetation in the garden except for the moss which encircles some of the stones. The stones are set in a pattern of 5, 2, 3, 2, 3 (composite groups with a 7-5-3 arrangement). There are several interpretations of the garden. One analysis of these rocks is that they are a representation of the ocean: the gravel represents the wide expanse of the ocean, the rocks its islands. Another reading is that the rocks are simply the summit of mountains peaking out of the clouds. The most common explanation is that the rocks represent a tigress leading her cubs through a stream.

The lack of a settled interpretation has become a very important way of re-centring focus upon the garden. Mirroring the didactic tool of the *kōan* as explained by Berthier:

One of the means employed by Zen masters to remove the scales from the eyes of their disciples in the *kōan*, an apparently nonsensical puzzle that can only be solved by way of the absurd. There were also pictorial *kōan*, like the one painted by the monk Josetsu on the theme, ‘How to catch a catfish with a gourd?’ Correspondingly, certain gardens are *kōan* in three dimensions. The garden of Ryōan-ji, about which so much has been written, is as enigmatic as a Zen riddle.¹⁰⁷

The idea of the garden of Ryōan-ji being an enigma sets its atmosphere as contemplative and tranquil. As the aforementioned idea of *fuzei* explains, the creation of garden’s atmosphere is

¹⁰⁶ Berthier, p. 32.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

considered very important especially at temples or shrines. This garden has become representative of the refinement, elegance and restraint which dominate garden designs in Japan and was a particularly popular design overseas, inspiring many Modernists' enthusiasm for the Japanese gardening tradition as well as many of New Zealand's Japanese-inspired gardens, discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

(xi) Daisen-in

Another excellent example of a *karesansui* garden is at the Daisen-in, one of the subsidiary temples of Daitoku-ji. (Figure 9) The sub-temple was founded in the early sixteenth-century by Priest Kogaku (1464-1548).¹⁰⁸ The abbot's house (*hōjō*) was the first building to be completed in 1513,¹⁰⁹ which is in all probability the time at which the garden was created. The *karesansui* garden is located outside of the *hōjō* and wraps around the east, north and south sides. The garden represents a watercourse which begins with a large dry waterfall flowing into a mountain chasm which terminates as a stream. At the base of the main rock a bridge is held aloft by jagged rocks on either side. A turtle and a crane island symbolising longevity and the Isles of the Immortals, punctuate the continuum. The sand is raked into rivulets which suggest the stream becomes a river and flows underneath a partition wall into another part of the garden which represents the ocean.¹¹⁰ There is one rock symbolising a boat floating towards the ocean which is denoted by a flat rectangular plot of white gravel. The gravel is uninterrupted except for a representation of Hōrai Island, two small gravel cones, and in the corner, a symbol of the place of the Buddha's enlightenment, a Bodhi tree.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ W. Kuitert, *Themes, Scenes, And Taste In The History Of Japanese Garden Art*, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 112.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 112.

¹¹⁰ See description in Hrdlička and Hrdličková and Sawano, (ed.), pp. 70-71.

¹¹¹ Main and Platten, p. 115.

Like Ryōan-ji, there are many interpretations of this garden. As art historians Zdeněk Hrdlička, Věnceslava Hrdličková and Takashi Sawano explain,

the stream of water is the unremitting stream of life, and the stone a dead man who is trying in vain to go against the stream. The three sections of the garden are also sometimes taken to symbolise the mystery of creation, human life and the end of life. Another interpretation is that they are symbols of the monastic life: work, meditation and illumination.¹¹²

Art historians Pierre and Susanne Rambach provide another interpretation, linking the two small gravel cones in the ocean to the concept of awakening and immortality:

In connection with Zen monasteries, it is important always to remember that the aim of Buddhism is to overcome death by breaking the cycle of rebirths. In this setting, we can take it that the presence of these two mounds of gravel is also related to the concept of Awakening and Immortality.¹¹³

Like the Ryōan-ji, the designer and creator of the Daisen-in is unknown. Hrdlička et al. believe this is intentional: “This is in accordance with Zen philosophy where even a single word, once written down, can become a dogma preventing independent thought, concentration and the intuitive recognition of truth.”¹¹⁴ A record of bibliographical details reveals that Priest Kogaku did enjoy gardening yet it is unlikely that he solely created this

¹¹² Hrdlička and Hrdličková and Sawano, (ed.), p. 71.

¹¹³ P. Rambach, and S. Rambach, *Gardens Of Longevity In China And Japan: The Art Of The Stone Raisers*, New York, 1987, p. 199.

¹¹⁴ Hrdlička and Hrdličková and Sawano, (ed.), p. 71.

garden despite the tradition of monks of the Daitoku-ji creating their own gardens.¹¹⁵ Many historians believe it was painter, decorator, and aesthete in service to the shogunal collection, Sōami (?-1525) who designed the garden¹¹⁶ as he decorated the interior of the *hōjō* with a landscape on the *shoji* (sliding door panels made of wooden framework and paper) of the central room.¹¹⁷

(xii) Materials Used In Karesansui Gardens

Stones and rocks dominate discussion of *karesansui* gardens, though it is the groundcover which is the most truly innovative aspect of this style of gardening. The materials, sand and gravel, originate from deposits of unstable and loose rock. Gravel is lifted from gravel beds by land movements or can be found on the ocean floor and riverbeds as well as in glacial and fluvio-glacial deposits (pieces of rock remaining after the Ice Ages).¹¹⁸ Gravel, pebbles or sand are utilised in gardens in Japan due to their highly malleable yet permanent qualities. Gravel and pebbles are very convenient materials as precipitation can simply drain away, meaning these gardens are not susceptible to pooling. There are popular types of gravel in Japan, particularly “weathered granite gravel with a grain of about 5 millimetres in diameter is preferred; in Kyoto, the abundant gravel of the Shirakawa district serves this purpose in almost every garden.”¹¹⁹ Aesthetically, sand can deliver a smoother surface if a dry riverbed image is needed. Often grains of sand can be too fine for a garden and susceptible to being scattered by the wind while patterns can be ruined if not attended to constantly.¹²⁰ But, if well maintained, all of these materials can create enduring patterns.

¹¹⁵ Yoshikawa, p. 31.

¹¹⁶ Kuitert, p. 113.

¹¹⁷ Masao, 1984, p. 74.

¹¹⁸ Bradley-Hole, p. 72.

¹¹⁹ Itō, p. 196.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 196.

The patterns raked into the gravel, pebbles or sand in a *karesansui* garden are often symbolic.

(Figure 10) There are many specific patterns including:

Ripples (*sazanami*); large waves (*uneri*); a scalloped wave pattern (*katao-nami*), mentioned often in Japanese verse; parallel zigzag lines (*ajiro-nami*); a pattern called “blue waves” (*seigaiha*), which resembles fish scales and is used in large gardens; a whirlpool pattern (*uzumaki-mon*); a circular ripple pattern (*uzumon*), used around stones; the so-called “lion” pattern (*shishi*); a whirling stream pattern (*kanzesui*); and combinations of these and many others.¹²¹

A gardener keeps the gardens raked in according to a pattern, which is not only aesthetically and symbolically important but also significant for the maintenance of the garden because frequent raking means that weeds or other unwanted vegetation will not grow. As Hrdlička et al. explain: “[s]pecial wooden rakes were used to draw out patterns on the sand; different rakes were used according to the effect required. The pattern produced by these rakes are known as *hokime*, ‘the eye of the rake’.”¹²² The patterns formed create figurative elements of the ocean which assist the viewer’s interpretation of the garden.

(xiii) Gardens of the Edo Period (1615-1868)

During the Edo period (1615-1868) there was a renewed interest in the style of gardens popular with the cultural elite in the Heian period (794-1184). The water-based garden became the prevalent style in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Heian period garden was changed somewhat through the inauguration of the strolling aspect of the water-based garden which Musō Soseki introduced in the fourteenth century. This new style of

¹²¹ Itō, p. 196.

¹²² Hrdlička and Hrdličková and Sawano, (ed.), p. 76.

garden allowed for strolling and for viewing the garden from several different perspectives, providing a more three-dimensional aspect. The Shugakuin Imperial Villa and Katsura Imperial Villa provide good insights into the culture and aesthetic taste of the imperial family of the early Edo period. (Figures 11 and 12) The stroll garden dominated the Edo period's garden styles. The strolling element changed the way the visitor experienced a garden and was regularly employed in foreign examples of Japanese-inspired gardens and therefore is necessary to examine. The Shugakuin and Katsura Imperial Villas are both detached palaces created as country retreats for members of the imperial family. The Shugakuin Villa was created by the retired Emperor Gomizunoo (1596-1680; reigned 1611-1629) whilst Katsura Villa was created by Gomizunoo's uncle and cousin respectively: Prince Toshihito (1579-1629) and his son Prince Toshitada (1619-1662). The Shugakuin's garden is extensive and divided into the three sections, Upper villa, Lower villa and Middle villa, whereas Katsura is one connected entity. Shugakuin's Upper garden is a good example of the use of the *shakkei* technique.¹²³ *Shakkei* means 'borrowed scenery', the incorporation of local scenery into a garden by orientating and designing to incorporate a local landmark. The surrounding countryside is visually incorporated into the villa's scenery. (Figure 11) By contrast, Katsura separates itself from its surroundings and therefore does not incorporate any local landmarks into its scenery, yet it physically incorporates some of Japan's landmarks in miniature as its features. (Figure 12) Both gardens are typical examples of Edo period imperial gardens for their return to Heian period garden design concepts, aristocratic lavishness, and emphasis on symbolism, simplicity and refinement.

From the tenth century feudal lords or *daimyō* ruled individual provinces or prefectures of Japan. The title means 'large private land', alluding to the fact these noblemen's power was

¹²³ M. Fujioka and S. Okamoto, *Kyoto Country Retreats: The Shugakuin And Katsura Palaces*, Tokyo and New York, 1983, p. 33.

derived from their fief. By the Edo period, the *daimyō* system had been institutionalised, and a new system of alternate attendance or *sankin kōtai* was established. This system required *daimyō* lords to report to the Shogun for duty every second year, allowing the Shogun ultimate power over each fief.¹²⁴ Each *daimyō* had two residences, one in his fief and one in Edo (modern-day Tokyo).¹²⁵ It was common for each of these residences to be elaborate with an extensive garden to illustrate each *daimyō* lord's power and sophisticated culture and taste. In the words of Keane: "The gardens of Heian period *shinden* residences may have covered about 4,500 square metres... the Edo stroll gardens were often 50,000 to 100,000 square metres or larger."¹²⁶ Indeed, these gardens were often so large that they enclosed farmland and religious sites.¹²⁷ On certain days, the *daimyō* lord would allow people to visit these sites to give offerings and make prayers.¹²⁸ These *daimyō* gardens usually followed the Heian period water-based pleasure-garden archetype yet incorporated strolling aspects. *Daimyō* gardens were used for entertainment, strolling, boating, moon and cherry-blossom-viewing and contemplation, as well as a meeting place to carry out business.

One extant example of an Edo period *daimyō* garden is Kenroku-en in Kanazawa, Ishikawa prefecture. (Figure 13) The Kenroku-en was commissioned by the wealthy and powerful Maeda clan, *daimyō* of the Kaga Province. The construction began in 1620 and was completed in the form we see it in today in the 1840s.¹²⁹ It is known as one of the 'Three Great Gardens' of Japan, and is 26 acres in size. It was originally the Outer Garden of the Kanazawa Castle but was transformed by several successive lords of the Maeda family.¹³⁰

The name 'Kenroku-en' or 'Garden Displaying Six Qualities' was derived from a Chinese

¹²⁴ Keane, 2004, p. 100.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 100.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.104.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p.104.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.104.

¹²⁹ Main and Platten, p. 59.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 59.

garden discussed in the eleventh century text *Rakuyo Meienki* (*Chronicles of the Famous Gardens*) by Chinese poet, Li Gefe (c.1041-1101). The garden's concept is centred on being a physical manifestation of the 'Six Qualities' which list the elements of a perfect landscape: spaciousness, seclusion, artifice, antiquity, waterways, and panoramas.¹³¹ (Figure 13) The garden is divided into two levels with an upper plateau containing a large pond, Misty Lake or *Kasumi-ga-ike*, complete with a Hōrai Island. The pond is surrounded by pine-framed pathways which provide three of the six qualities, spaciousness and seclusion whilst the planting of the trees in lines is evidently artificial. The 'Six-Qualities' concept demonstrates the quality of antiquity whilst the fifth is filled by its waterways such as the large Misty Lake and its tributaries. Japanese Irises and Japanese Cherry Blossoms are planted on either side of each stream. The two levels of this garden are connected by waterways which are fed by an underground channel which meets a river 10 kilometres away.¹³² As art historians Alison Main and Newell Platten explain, "one stream feeds the dramatic *Midori-taki*, or Green waterfall, that spills into the lower *Hisago-ike* or Gourd Lake."¹³³ The panoramic element is satisfied by the nearby Japan Sea and Mt. Haku.

Another extant example of a *daimyō* garden is Kōraku-en garden in Koishikawa, Bunkyo, Tokyo. (Figure 14) The Kōraku-en garden was commissioned in 1629 by *daimyō* lord, Tokugawa Yorifusa (1603-1661), and was designed by Tokudaiji Sahyoe (c.1585-1639).¹³⁴ After Tokugawa Yorifusa's death, the garden was completed by his son and successor Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701), with the assistance of Chinese scholar, Zhu Shunshui (1600-1682).¹³⁵ The name 'Koraku-en' means 'enjoying afterwards', and was apparently

¹³¹ Main and Platten, p. 59.

¹³² Ibid., p. 59.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 59.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 44.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 44.

chosen by Zhu Shunshui.¹³⁶ The idea of ‘enjoying afterwards’ is derived from a Chinese phrase: “the lord must bear sorrow before the people, take pleasure after them.”¹³⁷ The garden was originally 63 acres in size, but has since been reduced.¹³⁸ The garden is laid out with a central pond with a Hōrai island and several boat docks, viewing bridges and pavilions. (Figure 14) One renowned rock on this island is called the Tokudaiji-seki. Upon this rock is intricate weathering which suggests the form of a turtle, symbol for longevity. The foliage surrounding this rock represents a dry waterfall.¹³⁹ There is a long pathway winding around the circumference of the pond which leads past the Asakusa Kannon shrine, sake house, sweet (*yatsushashi*) house, teahouses, pagoda, waterfalls, several bridges including a full moon bridge (*engetsu-kyo*), a stealing to heaven bridge (*tsūtenbashi*) and a bridge to the moon (*togetsu-kyō*), miniatures such as Little Lu-Shan mountains and Ōi River, an amassed array of botanicals: wisteria, maples, irises, weeping cherries and Indian lotuses, as well as a plum orchard and a paddy field.¹⁴⁰

These Edo period gardens encapsulate the renewed interest by the Imperial family and the feudal lords in the water-based garden. The differences between the Heian period gardens and the Edo period gardens are the predominant strolling aspect to these gardens. The idea of the *daimyō* garden being a place of work and pleasure was interesting, as the *daimyō* garden was seen his throne. The opening of these gardens to the public on selected days was a new aspect to these gardens also.¹⁴¹ However, this isolated permission to visit these gardens was a step towards the public gardens and parks of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

¹³⁶ Main and Platten, p. 44.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 44.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁴⁰ Keane, 2004, p. 104.

¹⁴¹ ‘Public’ meant that these gardens were only open to men over the age of eighteen.

(xiv) Conclusion

The history of the Japanese gardening tradition forms a complex union of tradition and innovation. The examined gardens form an outline of the development of this tradition over fourteen centuries. This is important due to the fact that it illustrates this tradition in its various stages of development and its adaptability. The adaptability of the Japanese gardening tradition was inevitably exploited by Western designers due to the fact they felt they could adjust the tradition to their own modern needs and aesthetics. This initiated the imitation and appropriation of these traditions which lead to gardens of Japanese inspiration being created in New Zealand.

However, Japanese designers themselves appropriated elements of Chinese and Korean design when they were introduced into Japan in the seventh and eighth centuries. Over time, these elements were incorporated into designs and became what the West sees as ‘Japanese’ aesthetics. This correlates to Craig Clunas’ argument about Chinese gardens becoming essentialised by Western scholarship, discussed earlier.¹⁴² When Japan was formerly ‘opened’ to the West by Commodore Matthew Perry’s ‘black ships’, the West labelled and essentialised ‘Japanese’ aesthetics and appropriated them. This meant that the West saw Japanese gardens through a certain set of parameters which they imposed upon the tradition. In a Western perspective, the Japanese garden was only part of history and therefore not part of a modern context. The next chapter challenges that assumption with two Modernists recognising the potential of these traditional forms to be renewed and revitalised into a modern context.

¹⁴² Clunas, p. 13.

Japan was also changed by their observations of the West. In the later nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, two new concepts transformed the landscape of Japanese gardens. The new concept of public gardens was introduced in Japan and formed a new aesthetic of a green 'garden city' reproduced from European models. This concept was soon followed by Modernism which also transformed the aesthetics of the Japanese garden as new materials, shapes and methods of construction were also introduced. Comparisons were soon made about the similarities between the Japanese tradition of design and Modernist aesthetics. One could therefore see this not as exploitation, but as a symbiotic relationship of transmissions between Japan and the West. Each partner inspired the other, especially in terms of international Modernist design, an influence which is still perceptible in the twenty-first century. The next chapter will analyse this relationship centring upon Modernism's impact on Japan and Japan's impact on Modernism.

Chapter Two: Modernism And The Japanese Garden

Modernism was a widespread phenomenon which transformed twentieth-century culture and society. Like Japanese gardens, Modernism lacks a clear prototype which its adherents could follow and renders definitions difficult. This chapter will analyse Modernism's history and international impact with specific emphasis on its use of Japanese arts, architectural design and culture. In the West, Japanese arts and designs were introduced to artists, architects and designers before the advent of Modernism. In Europe, the fashionable trend of artists and artisans utilising Japanese design features is well-known due to, in part, the popularity of the French Impressionists of the 1870s through their enthusiasm for *Japonisme*. The phenomenon of *Japonisme* is said to have begun in May 1872 when French collector and critic Philippe Burty mentioned the concurrent proliferation of appreciation for the arts of Japan in an article in the journal *La Renaissance Litteraire et Artistique*.¹ Inspired by the arts of Japan, artists created this faction not as an imitation of the Japanese prototype but as their own interpretation of it.² These trends, along with visits to Japan, spurred an interest in some twentieth century architects such as Le Corbusier (1887-1965), Bruno Taut (1880-1938), Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969), Walter Gropius (1883-1969), and Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959). Their enthusiasm for traditional Japanese architectural aesthetics was well-known by the mid-twentieth century as they derived inspiration from these aesthetics for their own buildings.

To provide an analysis of Japan's impact upon Modernism I will discuss the career of Walter Gropius, the German Modernist architect and director of the Bauhaus, Dessau. To provide an analysis of Modernism's impact upon Japan, I will discuss the career of twentieth century

¹ A. Ono, *Japonisme In Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel And Nineteenth-Century Japan*, London and New York, 2003, p. 1.

² Ibid., p. 1.

designer of gardens in the Japanese tradition, Mirei Shigemori (1896-1975). Shigemori introduced and incorporated many innovations into gardens in Japan which renewed them whilst protecting their essential traditions. Shigemori constructed gardens between 1933 and 1975, and was therefore working during the apogee of the Modernist movement.³ I believe in some important respects Shigemori's gardens can be understood as manifestations of Gropius's theories and ideas. This argument shall serve as a device to connect these somewhat divergent figures.

(i) The History Of Modernism

The term 'Modernism' is as ambiguous as the term 'modern'. Initially, different cultures and individuals had different conceptions of what Modernism meant.⁴ Modernism soon divided into many sectors: art, architecture, design, and lastly garden design or landscape architecture. These areas were united by their common rejection of tradition.⁵ A Modernist object or design was originally perceived as artificial, machine-made, industrial, rational, and geometrical, and as Tim Benton explains: "any reference to nature might appear to constitute a challenge to Modernism's fundamental principles."⁶ Critics have tried to define Modernism, but have had varying success due to the wide variety of objects which fall under the term 'Modernist'.⁷ Prior to the introduction of Modernism, as Bernard Smith argues, "The Formalesque had... sought to discredit mimetic naturalism in the search for a universal aesthetic code, and in the work of masters such as Kandinsky, Kupka and Mondrian to escape

³ C. Tschumi, 'The Re-enchantment of the Maegaki residence by Mirei Shigemori' in Conan, Michel, *Contemporary Garden Aesthetics, Creations and Interpretations*, Washington D.C., 2007, p. 35.

⁴ J. Waymark, *Modern Garden Design: Innovation Since 1900*, London, 2003, p. 71.

⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

⁶ T. Benton, 'Modernism And Nature' in C. Wilk, (ed.) *Modernism: Designing A New World*, London, 2006, p. 312.

⁷ P. Childs, *Modernism*, London and New York, 2000, p. 12.

from the mimesis of naturalism altogether.”⁸ One could associate the Formalesque movement’s battle with Modernism’s supposed rejection of nature. Perhaps Modernism itself became what the Formalesque could not, a universal aesthetic code.

Scholars debate when Modernism began. In 1737, ‘Modernism’ was used by the writer and pamphleteer, Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) as a derogatory term for those he believed “abused contemporary language.”⁹ It was during the nineteenth century when the definition of this term came to resemble its twentieth century interpretation: Western, modern, new or of its time.¹⁰ Some art historians argue Modernism was a ‘time-bound’ movement between 1890 and 1930.¹¹ Others claim Modernism is timeless, relying solely on the objects, paintings, gardens, designs, and buildings and their common rejection of tradition to unite this multifarious entity. However, the very label ‘Post-Modernism’, devised in the 1950s, implies that Modernism had ended.¹² For the sake of clarity, I acknowledge that while Modernism was seen to have run its course by the 1950s, many of its elements continued.¹³

Modernism was international in scope. Modernist architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe described Modernism as “not just a phenomenon of our time and country, but rather part of a movement which is emerging across the whole world.”¹⁴ The dates associated with Modernism could therefore change due to geographical location and experience. Location served as the most important factor to Modernism as it was international insofar as it was adopted globally yet it was regional due to the fact that changed due to where its adherents

⁸ B. Smith, *Modernism’s History: A Study In Twentieth-Century Art And Ideas*, New Haven and London, 1998, p. 114.

⁹ C. Wilk, (ed.) *Modernism: Designing A New World*, London, 2006, p. 13.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 13.

¹¹ Childs, p. 2.

¹² C. Harrison, *Movements In Modern Art: Modernism*, London, 1997, p. 9.

¹³ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁴ Wilk, p. 15.

were located. I believe as Modernism spread, its adherents consciously or unconsciously infused traditional elements of their own countries into it. Modernism's sweep of the Western world was slow but thorough and some argue assisted initiation of the East into the Western world.¹⁵ Yet I would argue that it was the historical East which, in some respects, inspired its innovations.

It is generally accepted that Modernism began in Europe with the Parisian 'avant-garde' and its connotation of an advancing army with an innovative, entrepreneurial, revolutionary or challenging spirit. 'Avant-garde' is a term which originated in Paris, yet soon spread to the major European centres and was used to describe many artists working in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁶ These artists were the first whom were referred to as Modernist artists.¹⁷ Cubism was a distinct revolutionary break from tradition and was generally considered to be one of the primary contributors to the ideas, aesthetics and attitude of Modernism.¹⁸ Cubism's fragmented and prismatic view of the world inspired many artists and movements internationally. As the Museum of Modern Art's first director Alfred H. Barr's (1902-1981) diagram of the trajectory of the history of Modern Art indicates, one can see traces of the Cubist and Abstract Art in the De Stijl and Neoplastic artists, Italian Futurists, Orphists, Russian Expressionists, Suprematists, Constructivists as well as the German and French Dadaists.¹⁹ (Figure 15)

¹⁵ H. Belting, et al., *Art History After Modernism*, Chicago, 2003, p. 62.

¹⁶ Harrison, p. 9. European centres including: Milan, Munich, Moscow, Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Zurich, and London. Artists including: Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque and Piet Mondrian among others.

¹⁷ Harrison, p. 9.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁹ Details: Alfred H. Barr, *Diagram of the Trajectory of Modern Art*, Originally published on the jacket cover of the his text A. H. Barr, *Cubism And Abstract Art*, Museum of Modern Art Publishers, New York, 1936, See Figure 15.

European Modernism was born from nineteenth century advances in technology and innovation. Each of the components of Modernism had different qualities. Apart from their rejection of tradition, some terms seem to be synonymous with Modernism. The European permeation of Modernism is characterised by simplification, minimalism and streamlining, whilst being geometrical and industrial in appearance.²⁰ (Figure 16) Due to the rise of fascism a number of Modernist artists and architects fled to the United States of America, to America's benefit. In 1932, architectural historian Henry Russell-Hitchcock and his protégé Philip Johnson published, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*, and called Modernism "a new style and dubbed international since it had already been transplanted from Europe to America (and would be exported elsewhere)."²¹ In architectural terms, Modernism is often referred to as the International Style, although problems with this term have been raised.²²

The American response to Modernism was enthusiastic, with Harold Rosenberg (1906-1978) calling Modernism "the tradition of the new".²³ European Modernism inspired many American artists such as Max Weber (1881-1961), Joseph Stella (1877-1946), Marsden Hartley (1877-1943) and Richard Diebenkorn (1922-1993) among others. In 1939, one American critic Clement Greenberg (1909-1994), referred to the paintings which are commonly referred to as 'Modernist' as 'avant-garde', but later labelled them 'Modernist

²⁰ Each sector of European and American Modernism (art, architecture, sculpture, gardening etc.) used the qualities of simplification, minimalism, streamlining, geometry and an industrial appearance in different ways. Cubism used geometrical shapes in which to render their simplified subjects and utilised stenciling, patterning and dark tonal gradation to give their works an industrial appearance. In the realm of Modernist Sculpture, artists such as Swiss Alberto Giacometti (1901-1966) made sculptures of people devoid of anatomical precision in favour of a streamlined, simplified or geometrical appearance. Designers and architects used minimalist streamlining and simplified geometry to create an industrial effect in their buildings. An example of this would be the Fagus Shoe-Last Factory by Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer in Alfred-an-der-Leine, 1911 (Figure 16) and the Bauhaus in Dessau by Walter Gropius in 1925-26. (Figure 17)

²¹ L. Wodehouse, and M. Fazio, and M. Moffett, *A World History Of Architecture*, London, 2003, p. 476.

²² M. Crinson, *Modern Architecture And The End Of Empire*, Aldershot, 2003, p. 1.

²³ Childs, p. 1.

Painting’.²⁴ By labelling these works as ‘avant-garde’ he was linking them to Cubism’s trajectory of inspiration. In 1948, Greenberg said Cubism was “the epoch-making feat of twentieth-century art, a style that has changed and determined the complexion of Western art as radically as Renaissance naturalism once did.”²⁵ In light of Greenberg’s comments, art historian Charles Harrison states:

On the basis of this evidence, it is tempting to conceive of modernism as a form of specifically twentieth-century cultural revolution, driven by rapid technological progress and political ferment, involving the pursuit of change for its own sake and issuing in forms of militant avant-gardism and experiment.²⁶

The evidence to support this theory can be sourced through the work of the Italian Futurists and the Russian Suprematists and Constructivists whose work was predominantly revolutionary and encouraged social reform of the government.²⁷ However, the idea of Modernists being revolutionary or challenging governments or political movements is not always correct as many Modernist artists did not have any political agenda, and focused solely on art.

There is a common misconception that Modernist ideas were introduced into Japan alongside Modernisation and Westernisation. Some critics believe that Modernism, Modernisation and Westernisation are synonymous terms.²⁸ As I have shown, Modernism began as an art-based movement, but by the 1920s-1930s, its scope had widened and it was no longer a purely art-

²⁴ Wilk, p. 13.

²⁵ Harrison, p. 9.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

²⁸ R. Kersten, *Democracy In Post-War Japan*, London and New York, 1996, p. 116.

based phenomenon. However, Modernism is clearly different to the processes of Modernisation and Westernisation. Modernism was an entity of ideas which were incorporated into isolated pieces of art, architecture and gardens, whereas Modernisation and Westernisation were wider processes which impacted upon the structure of cities and countries.

(ii) Modernism And The Garden In Japan

Gardening may seem like the last area of the artistic world to have any connection with Modernism. However, Modernist gardens took many forms and range from the smallest courtyard to the largest city park. As discussed in Chapter One, city parks were introduced to Japan in the late nineteenth century and became an important social phenomenon. Before there were city parks in Japan, the only public garden or park areas were inside temples, shrines and restricted access to some *daimyō* gardens. These areas were therefore reserved for religious improvement and study. The idea of city parks for recreation and leisure activities was completely new to Japan and this Western idea was avidly embraced. One of the key figures in the introduction of Western style architecture, gardens and parks was the British architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920). Conder arrived in Japan in 1877 and designed over fifty buildings in Japan which illustrate the transformation of nineteenth and twentieth-century Japan.²⁹

Conder taught Japanese architects and established the curriculum at the Imperial College of Engineering (now the Department of Engineering at the University of Tokyo), where he was employed to teach Japanese students about Western architecture.³⁰ However, Conder soon

²⁹ A. Brown, 'Introduction' in J. Conder, *Landscape Gardening In Japan*, Tokyo, New York, and London, 2002, p. 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

became enthusiastic about Japanese architecture, art, gardening and flower arrangement. Conder's texts, such as *The Flowers Of Japan And The Art Of Floral Arrangement* (1891), and *Landscaping Gardening In Japan* (1893), served as influential Western observations on the established traditions of Japanese flower arrangement and landscaping.³¹ Prior to the publication of *Landscaping Gardening in Japan*, relatively little was known about architecture and gardening in Japan as these elements were not easily exported and shown in exhibitions.³² The accounts of Japan which existed prior to this text include the records of Dutch traders who transmitted Japanese plants to the West, as well as Marco Polo, who described Japanese cities as "being filled with buildings made of gold".³³ After the Meiji period, the country was opened to the West and foreigners and their Western ideas proliferated. One important section from Conder's work espouses the public park which influenced many Japanese landscapists, gardeners, and decision-makers. "Gardens should be so arranged" he wrote, "that the different seasons may contribute in rotation to their artistic excellence. They should form refreshing retreats for hours of leisure and idleness – or, as oddly expressed by a native writer, places to stroll in when aroused from sleep..."³⁴ Other

³¹ Azby Brown wrote a very important caveat about Conder's texts: "*Landscape Gardening in Japan* is very much a product of its time. Though he avoids descending into cliché or patronising the Japanese and their culture, Conder is nevertheless an Orientalist, interpreting an Asian culture, even packaging it for consumption, on behalf of Westerners who might like to partake of its perceived exoticism without directly engaging its people or even fully accepting the culture as equal."³¹ The somewhat superior attitude that Conder exudes in this text is evidence of this imperialistic attitude held by the West, however the publication of this text shows the extent of the interest in *Japonisme* in the West in the late nineteenth century. See Brown in Conder, p. 9.

³² Japanese objects and designs were exhibited in thirty-six exhibitions held worldwide between 1862 and 1910. See J. Beattie, and J. M. Heinzen, and J. P. Adam, 'Japanese Gardens And Plants In New Zealand, 1850-1950: Transculturation And Transmission' in *Studies In The History Of Gardens And Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Taylor and Francis, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 2008, p. 220. Japanese objects and designs were also notably exhibited at the international expositions in Philadelphia in 1876 and in Paris in 1878 which were precursors to the large contribution sent to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. See Brown, p. 7. The culmination of *Japonisme* popularity was the Japan-Exhibition held in London in 1910 where two acres of Shepherd's Bush was, as Beattie, Heinzen and Adam state, "laid out by Japanese artist gardeners either with full-sized gardens or with 'landscapes in miniature', in which the visitor will see beauty in a form hitherto comparatively unknown." See J. Beattie, and J. M. Heinzen, and J. P. Adam, 'Japanese Gardens And Plants In New Zealand, 1850-1950: Transculturation And Transmission' in *Studies In The History Of Gardens And Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Taylor and Francis, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 2008, p. 220.

³³ Brown in Conder, p. 7.

³⁴ Conder, p. 27.

Western texts were produced on the subjects of Japanese botany and gardens, such as those by A.B. Freeman-Mitford (1837-1916), Louis Grenville, and Reginald Farrer (1880-1920).³⁵

(iii) Modernism Looks To Japan: Walter Gropius

The attitude of Modernist practitioners about Japan was predominantly enthusiastic. One passionate advocate for Japanese arts, architecture and culture was Walter Gropius. As previously mentioned, Gropius founded the Bauhaus and is considered one of the most important figures of modern architecture. After receiving valuable experience whilst an apprentice for Peter Behrens (1868-1940), he created his own independent architectural firm and was then appointed to the position of director of the Bauhaus.³⁶ The Bauhaus opened in Weimar in 1919 and moved to Dessau in 1925.³⁷ Gropius began the Dessau Bauhaus for several reasons: first, to create an art school which incorporated arts, architecture and design as well as crafts and topography; second, he was inspired by his master Behrens and other iconic architects Hans Poelzig and Bruno Paul, and wanted to pass on what he had learnt to the young designers and creators of the future.³⁸ Third, he wanted to shape the minds of the next generation by a new way of education, melding a technical knowledge of craftsmanship with the philosophy of art.³⁹ Harlan Hoffa argues that the background impetus to the creation of the Bauhaus was twofold: “the first was the increasing industrialization of Western Europe, and the second, the beginnings of the rebellion among artists against the control of

³⁵ J. Beattie, and J. M. Heinzen, and J. P. Adam, ‘Japanese Gardens And Plants In New Zealand, 1850-1950: Transculturation And Transmission’ in *Studies In The History Of Gardens And Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Taylor and Francis, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 2008, p. 220.

³⁶ Wodehouse, Fazio, and Moffett, p. 488.

³⁷ P. Nuttgens, *Understanding Modern Architecture*, London, 1988, p. 110.

³⁸ Wodehouse, Fazio, and Moffett, p. 451.

³⁹ J. Pearlman, ‘Joseph Hudnut's Other Modernism at the "Harvard Bauhaus"' in *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (Dec., 1997), Chicago, 1997, p. 471.

art by the all-powerful academies.”⁴⁰ In truth, the Bauhaus was created due to an amalgam of these reasons.

To Gropius, the Dessau Bauhaus represented his own personal “architectural manifesto”.⁴¹ Through the architecture of the Bauhaus buildings, one can appreciate the Bauhaus ideals, which art historian Robert Hughes describes as a “rationalised, sharp-edge, machine-based style.”⁴² (Figure 17) Gropius’s mission statement was clear: “Let us create the new building of the future, which will embrace architecture and sculpture and painting in one unity and which will some day rise toward heaven from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith.”⁴³ He was so enthusiastic about this vision of the future that Bauhaus students and fellow teachers nicknamed Gropius “Pius”.⁴⁴ He spoke of the Bauhaus as an initiator of the future, writing:

What the Bauhaus preached in practice was the common citizenship of all forms of creative work, and their logical interdependence on one another in the modern world...The object of the Bauhaus was not to propagate any style, system or dogma, but simply to exert a revitalising influence on design.⁴⁵

Gropius’s definition of Modernism was founded upon a desire to achieve a new “unity of art and technology”.⁴⁶ He advocated an international scope of artistic thought. However, his goal was not to blend all of artistic concepts and mediums together, but for them to co-exist, each

⁴⁰ H. Hoffa, ‘Walter Gropius Innovator’ in *Art Education*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jan., 1961), New York, 1961, p. 12.

⁴¹ Nuttgens, p. 110. Details: Walter Gropius, Bauhaus, Dessau, 1925-1926, (Figure 17).

⁴² Hughes, p. 192.

⁴³ Nuttgens, p. 110.

⁴⁴ Pearlman, p. 463.

⁴⁵ A. Bartram, *Bauhaus, Modernism And The Illustrated Book*, London, 2004, p. 13.

⁴⁶ G. Lupfer, and P. Sigel, *Walter Gropius, 1883-1969: The Promoter Of A New Form*, Paris, Cologne, Brussels, London, Los Angeles, and New York City, 2004, p. 15.

concept, style, system or dogma existing together as a “revitalising influence on design.”⁴⁷

This correlates to the idea of Modernism being a regional entity. Gropius saw the future as the co-existence of international styles united by the idea of revitalisation. To revitalise means to renew historical ideas and designs which each have their own traditions, identity and connections to the culture of a certain place or time period. Regionalism is therefore inherent within these revitalised plans and therefore one could see Modernism as regional rather than international as has been previously reiterated. Each permeation of Modernism has used the tenets of revitalisation to modernise their historical ideas and designs. This proves, Modernism, even with its anti-traditionalist and anti-historicist tendencies, took cues from the past.

Gropius visited Japan in 1954 and he was inspired by Japanese design. A postcard Gropius sent to Le Corbusier can serve as an appropriate example of the esteem in which he held Japanese design and especially garden design. (Figure 18) The postcard read:

Dear Corbu, all what we have been fighting for has its parallel in old Japanese culture.

This rock-garden of Zen monks in the thirteenth century – stones and raked white pebbles – could be by Arp or Brancusi – an elating spot of peace. You would be as excited as I am in this 2000-year-old space of cultural wisdom! The Japanese house is the best and most modern that I know of and really prefabricated.

Hoping you are well.

Greetings to you and Mme.

Yours Gropius.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Bartram, p. 13.

⁴⁸ F. Dal Co, ‘La Princesse Est Modeste’ in V. Ponciroli, (ed.) *Katsura: Imperial Villa*, Milan, 2005, p. 388.

The picture upon the postcard was of Ryōan-ji, discussed in Chapter One. This postcard can be analysed in two ways. First, in Gropius's opinion, the garden of the Ryōan-ji could be seen as the prototype for Modernist aesthetics. Gropius erroneously states that Ryōan-ji was made in the thirteenth century and even though one cannot be sure when it was made, 1499 is the widely agreed date. However, whenever this garden was made, the fact that Gropius could relate it to Modernism illustrates the garden's adaptability and illustrates Modernism's scope: even in the historical 'East' one can find a piece of the Modern. In this way, Modernism seemed timeless and truly international. As art historian Francesco Dal Co argues:

In the postcard he sent to Le Corbusier, Gropius claimed the right to inscribe in this same myth 'all what we have been fighting for,' justified by all he had observed on his journey across Japan, a confirmation that in its fullness the architecture of every period and country shares a single morality and expresses a shared, immutable ethic.⁴⁹

This "shared, immutable ethic"⁵⁰ was Modernist aesthetics, the aforementioned, "universal aesthetic code".⁵¹ But there is another way to read Gropius's sentiments. By aligning this garden to Modernism, Gropius recognised the international potential for Japanese gardens. In this way, he was indicating his understanding of the capacity of these Japanese features to be adopted into foreign environments. Of course Gropius could not have foreseen the lengths to which this idea actually transpired, but the fact that he recognised this potential serves as a foundation for the discussion in Chapter Three where this process occurred in New Zealand.

⁴⁹ Dal Co in Ponciroli, p. 387.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 387.

⁵¹ Smith, p. 114.

In the last comment on the postcard Gropius not only admits that the Japanese house is the best ‘modern’ structure but also the *most* ‘modern’. In his opinion, regardless of the time of its construction, the materials, techniques and style used in Japanese houses are more ‘modern’ than international Modernist architecture. He also mentions the prefabricated nature of these houses, by which he means modular structure of *tatami*-based measurements. *Tatami* mats are woven floor mats which are a standard size and therefore can be easily replaced. Likewise, *shoji* panels over the windows, walls and doors also can be easily replaced. Each part is regularised, the *tatami* and *shoji* panels can be made elsewhere and brought to a house and immediately installed. Gropius states: “the old hand-made Japanese house had already all the essential features demanded today for a modern pre-fabricated house; namely, modular coordination-the standard mat, a unit of about 3 x 6 feet- and movable wall panels.”⁵²

Prefabrication was a key idea in the Modernist architects’ aesthetic. Other parallels between traditional Japanese design and Modernist design include the modularity and linearity of the design, simplicity, minimalism, streamlining, functionality, practicality, an open plan, and the flexibility of space.⁵³ In 1955, Gropius wrote an article entitled ‘Architecture In Japan’. Here, Gropius outlined his admiration for the arts and how they have enriched Japanese culture.⁵⁴

⁵² W. Gropius, ‘Architecture in Japan’ in *Perspecta*, Vol. 3 (1955), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955, p. 11. Other Modernists saw the same benefits of the *tatami* structure of traditional Japanese architecture. In the foreword to David H. Engel’s *Japanese Gardens For Today* (1959), Modernist architect Richard Neutra (1892-1970) wrote “The house, on the country, could well serve American prefabricators as prototype solutions of the problems of modular construction, as an example of a most humanised standardisation accepted by a hundred million people. The three-by-six foot *tatami* floor mat governs not only the dimensions of a room, whose size is always some multiple of the mat, but also those of the sliding partitions of the house, the built-in sets of drawers, the moveable *tansu* chests – governs, indeed, every dimension of houses at every level of society, from the huts of poor farmers to the palatial villas of soap manufacturers and princely officials.” See R. Neutra, ‘Foreword’ in D. H. Engel, *Japanese Gardens For Today*, Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, 1959, p. xii. Frank Lloyd Wright also designed prefabricated Usonian Houses made for certain middle-class income bracket families. From the mid-1930s to the 1950s, Wright designed each prefabricated house out of the most practical and locally sourced materials. These designs ranged from the most basic to intermediate to quite lavish, yet always practical. Other Modernists followed suit designing houses and offices in which everything had multiple uses where nothing was expendable. See Wodehouse, Fazio, and Moffett, p. 523.

⁵³ Treib and Herman, pp. 33-34.

⁵⁴ Gropius discusses Ryōan-ji again in this article and his reaction to it is telling, “One of my really overwhelming experiences was my visit to the Ryōan-ji rock garden of a Zen monastery in Kyoto (1480). This is a rectangular place, backed by a long low wall with sloping dark grey tile coping, flanked by similar walls and a building opposite the long wall. One looks down on the rock garden from the wooden terrace along the

He also discussed the ramifications of the Westernisation of Japan and Modernism's impact upon Japan as I shall outline later.

You cannot imagine what it meant to me to come suddenly face to face with these houses, with a culture still alive, which in the past had already found the answer to many of our modern requirements of simplicity, of outdoor-indoor relations, of modular coordination, and at the same time, variety of expression, resulting in a common form of language uniting all individual efforts.⁵⁵

These were aspects which Gropius recognised as elements that could be adapted to Modernist design.

Gropius's visit to Japan had been sponsored by the International House of Japan, established by a Rockefeller Grant.⁵⁶ Prior to this trip, Gropius had been Chairman of the Department of Architecture at Harvard,⁵⁷ but was replaced in January 1953 by the new Dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Design, Jose Luis Sert.⁵⁸ Due to his replacement, he organised an extensive travelling agenda from South America to Hawaii, Fiji, Australia, the Philippines,

reception hall of the monastery; it is only 30' x 79'. The first reaction upon entering this charmed place is speechlessness. What you see is fifteen well chosen rocks put in the white gravel that covers the entire place. The gravel is painstakingly raked into the parallel lines except for the places directly around the stones, where the gravel is raked into a wavy pattern. The absence of any time-bound, man-made object or of plants takes it out of the realm of perishable values and the simplicity of the stones, which are by no means of exceptional beauty, though chosen with a keen eye for proportion, keeps the composition from over-sophistication. The scale is truly monumental in spite of its insignificant size. A feeling of complete peace, though not of stifled imagination, is created because the stones do not look final in their relative size, but more like indications of potential forces, of a balanced tension, which occupy and stimulate the mind." See Gropius, 1955, p. 79.

⁵⁵ Gropius, 1955, p. 11.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

⁵⁷ Dal Co in Ponciroli, p. 387.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 387.

Okinawa and finally mainland Japan.⁵⁹ He spent three months travelling in Japan.⁶⁰ The country was in disarray after World War II and architects faced the difficult task of reconstruction.⁶¹ He visited Ryōan-ji, the Katsura Imperial Palace, as well as the residence of the architect Kenzo Tange in Tokyo, the Itsukushima Shrine near Hiroshima and the Imperial Palace in Kyoto, among others.⁶² According to Gropius, the architecture he saw was stripped back to the bare essentials and paralleled the Modernist aesthetic: he appreciated the streamlined, uncluttered effect in the buildings. (Figures 19 and 20) Gropius argued that Modernism and Japanese design provide the essential elements which result in “a common form language uniting all individual efforts.”⁶³

But Gropius saw only one side of Japan’s historical aesthetics, where art historians recognise that two distinct traditions exist. The other tradition is identified with Heian period (794-1185) culture. As discussed in Chapter One, the Heian period is seen as Japan’s ‘golden age’ which is appropriate, because the wealthy and aristocratic favoured lavish ornamentation and decoration. The popular forms of art and architecture in the Heian period reflected this preference for ostentation, colour and embellishments. However, by the Muromachi period (1333-1573), it was the modest, simplistic, clean and bare aesthetic that was the favoured style of art and architecture of the military elite. This tradition was derived largely from the Song Period of China (960-1279) and Zen Buddhism. These two preferences represent two distinct threads which interweave within Japanese cultural history. Gropius obviously appreciated the latter tradition, for its simplicity, functionality and uncluttered aesthetic. This tradition is more in keeping with the Modernists’ philosophy of the early twentieth century

⁵⁹ Dal Co in Ponciroli, p. 387.

⁶⁰ Gropius, 1955, p. 9.

⁶¹ Dal Co in Ponciroli, p. 387.

⁶² Gropius, 1955, pp. 9-21.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

such as Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's (1886-1969) famous maxim 'less is more'⁶⁴ and Adolf Loos's (1870-1933) belief that 'ornament is sin'.⁶⁵

Interestingly, after Gropius's visit to Japan, he was inspired by Zen Buddhism and its methods of design. When Gropius was in Japan, he regularly met with a group of architects at an inn near Mount Fuji. At one of these meetings Gropius shared a piece of Zen advice which had been imparted to him: "Develop an infallible technique, and then place yourself at the mercy of inspiration."⁶⁶ In light of this piece of Zen advice, Gropius concluded: "My own trend of thought as exemplified in the Bauhaus has here been startlingly confirmed."⁶⁷ He evidently felt a keen kinship between what he had been aiming for in the Bauhaus and the Modernism it represented and what he had found in Japan. Gropius felt that Japan represented a "cohesive cultural entity"⁶⁸ which he had never before witnessed.⁶⁹ He saw beauty as an intrinsic element of Japanese life, as "still a basic requirement of life for the Japanese, a cultural factor of great importance more and more missing in the Western world."⁷⁰ Gropius believed that, "[s]ome examples of Japanese architecture are of the highest cultural order. Not until I saw the Partheon of the Acropolis on my way back westward did I

⁶⁴ Ludwig Mies van der Rohe adopted this maxim from Robert Browning's (1812-1889) *Andrea del Sarto*, 1855. See M. Byars, *The Design Encyclopaedia*, London, 2004, p. 493.

⁶⁵ A. Loos, *Ornament And Crime: Selected Essays*, Riverside, California, 1998, p. 204.

⁶⁶ Gropius, 1955, p. 18.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁹ In Japan, Gropius saw the traditional and innovative co-exist side by side as contrasting elements in a unified space. Gropius states: "During the last two years I have crossed many oceans and continents, so I have had ample opportunity to observe the gradual conversion of many countries from a feudal past into the now familiar pattern of a modern industrialized society." See Gropius, 1955, p. 9. To this end, he concludes that Japan has certainly modernised yet without divorcing itself from traditional values. However Gropius goes further than that, to find that elusive 'universal aesthetic code' or as he calls it, "a common denominator of form expressing our modern life." See Gropius, 1955, p. 9. This passage alludes to the need for a form which would blend into any culture, without causing offense. Gropius thought Modernism was the common element needed to unite the world. He argued, "we must find, instead, a new set of values, based on such constituent factors as would generate an integrated expression of the thought and feeling of our time." See Gropius, 1955, p. 9. He finally surmises, "East and West must adapt their attitudes and enrich each other, discarding what is weak and obsolete on both sides." See Gropius, 1955, p. 9. Gropius felt that such an act would result in a "true democracy" for the world. See W. Gropius, *Scope Of Total Architecture*, London, 1956, p. 9.

⁷⁰ Gropius, 1955, p. 9.

experience again an architectural spirit of such high rank.”⁷¹ He stated in *The Scope Of Total Architecture* that “Since my early youth I have been acutely aware of the chaotic ugliness of our modern man-made environment when compared to the unity and beauty of old, pre-industrial towns.”⁷² According to Gropius, Japan represented the unity and beauty of the old world of artistic creativity and craftsmanship whilst developing innovative ideas which would appeal to the Modernists.

Gropius had an almost equal respect for gardens of the Japanese tradition. On this subject he wrote:

The indoor-out-door relation between house and garden which has only been so recently rediscovered in the Western civilization, was a matter of great concern in Japan centuries ago. Openings, terraces and balconies were placed with an eye to the landscape and far and near scenery.⁷³

Perhaps without knowing it, Gropius mentions the idea of *shakkei* or ‘borrowed scenery’. Some Japanese gardens integrate not only landscapes recreated within the garden, but also the scenery beyond the garden.⁷⁴ As Gropius noted, “Japanese man-made landscape and gardens are so beautiful because a deep understanding of nature has been all-prevailing throughout the land. The Japanese approach of persuading and stimulating nature will have a greater future value than the present Western method of ‘conquering’ and ‘exploiting’ her.”⁷⁵ The Japanese respect for nature inspired Gropius, as illustrated by the following.

⁷¹ Gropius, 1955, p. 14.

⁷² W. Gropius, *Scope Of Total Architecture*, London, 1956, p. 9.

⁷³ Gropius, 1955, p. 21.

⁷⁴ For example: Shugakuin Imperial Villa integrated the surrounding countryside through the method of *shakkei* or ‘borrowed scenery’, see Chapter One and Figure 12.

⁷⁵ Gropius, 1955, p. 21.

Beautiful gardens are found by no means only around temples or big country estates. In fact the particular ingenuity of the Japanese gardener is that he can turn even a tiny court between two rooms into an imaginative, enchanting space. Wedged in between townhouses, in back of diminutive restaurants in odd lots that would be nothing but dumping places in our towns, one comes upon the most exquisite plant arrangements and beautifully trimmed trees. In case green nature cannot be easily accommodated, rocks are placed in such arresting pattern that the eye is caught in delight. The Japanese are partial to stones and rocks. What, in the beginning, may have been a very practical arrangement to keep paths dry during the inundations of the rainy season has become a real art which is so ubiquitously applied that it has now become necessary to prohibit by law the indiscriminate removal of rocks from riverbeds and the open landscape.⁷⁶

Whilst discussing the Katsura Imperial Palace and garden, Gropius described Japanese architecture and garden design as a piece of “timeless modernity”.⁷⁷ In this way, Gropius saw the modernisation of Japan as a revitalisation of its traditional aesthetics. To modernise Japan, he thought, the Japanese had to revert to innovations in their past. This would modernise Japan in a Japanese way. He argued that if the Japanese can take their past and

⁷⁶ Gropius, 1955, p. 21 and p.79.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 80. Gropius saw the Japanese garden as the ultimate integration of interior and exterior integration and this is one way it is timelessly modern, he argues, “outdoors and indoors the building and the garden are one continuous space composition; a sequence of interior spaces suggests unlimited flexibility by sliding walls and windows, no static spaces, no symmetry, no centre focus...I implored them not to discard the great spirit of their traditional architecture, for I felt that it is still full of new potentialities for a modern way of life. See Gropius, 1955, p. 80.

revitalise it with some technical knowledge of the Western world, they could be truly Modernist.⁷⁸ This proves the regionalist nature of Modernism.

Gropius' enthusiasm for architecture of the Japanese tradition manifested itself in some of his later designs. Just after his return from Japan in 1955, he designed a nine-storey block of apartments in Hansaviertel, West Berlin for the 1957 International Building Exhibition (*Internationale Bauausstellung*, also known as Interbau).⁷⁹ (Figure 21) Forty-eight architects, including Walter Gropius, Alvar Alto and Le Corbusier, designed apartment buildings for the area which had been devastated by the bombings of World War II, in a competition to construct the most functional, practical, economic and aesthetically pleasing buildings. Gropius's Japanese inspiration is evident in the structure of his apartment building: the projecting and recessing forms of the balconies and stairwells at each end make reference to the contrasts Gropius witnessed in Japan. The projecting balconies give the illusion of integration of interior and exterior. The monochromatic appearance of this apartment block also refers to Japanese taste. The white transoms and mullions enhanced the prefabricated aesthetic of the building as did the Japanese *shoji* panels. The apartment building is also devoid of ornamentation in a clear parallel to what Gropius saw as the Japanese preference for cleanliness and starkness.⁸⁰ Having analysed Japan's impact upon Modernism through

⁷⁸ Gropius, 1955, p. 80.

⁷⁹ L.J. Vale, and T.J. Campanella, *The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover From Disaster*, Oxford, 2005, p. 125.

⁸⁰ Several of Gropius's students were inspired by their master's love of Japanese design. Some examples of this can be seen in the work of some of the students whom worked with him at the Harvard University Graduate School of Design. Students such as Garrett Eckbo (1910-2000), Dan Kiley (1912-2004), and James C. Rose (1913-1991), were all inspired by Gropius to design traditional Japanese buildings and gardens whilst also rejecting the then fashionable Beaux-Arts style and utilising the Bauhaus's Modernist methods and aesthetics. With these stylistic design techniques, Gropius taught the students about his need for a universal aesthetics code. The simplicity, functionalism and pre-fabrication-like structure of Japanese design intrigued the students and with Bauhaus Modernism, Gropius argued the code could be achieved. Examples of this can be perceived in James C. Rose's James Rose Centre in Ridgewood, New Jersey, 1953-54. Rose was inspired by Gropius's enthusiasm for traditional Japanese design and from his visits to Japan during World War II. See B. Abbs, et al., *The Contemporary Garden*, London and New York, 2009, p. 29. This inspiration can be seen in the *shoji* panels and the *kareansui* garden at the centre. Rose named the garden, "the gateless gate of Zen Buddhism". See Abbs, et al., p. 29. The centre is Modernist due to its interlinked volumes of space and Rose's interest in

Gropius's career, to provide an analysis on Modernism's impact upon Japan, I shall now discuss Japanese garden designer, Mirei Shigemori. Shigemori represents a Japanese perspective on the effect Modernism had on the traditional art of gardening in Japan. This is important due to the fact that by the mid-twentieth century when Shigemori was working, Modernism had become coupled with Japanese-inspired designs. These entities arrived in New Zealand simultaneously and therefore effected their introduction and proliferation throughout the antipodean nation, discussed in Chapter Three.

(iv) Mirei Shigemori And Modernism In Japan

There are many modern Japanese gardens which make up the landscape of Japan's major cities. Architects Kenzo Tange (1913–2005), Sutemi Horiguchi (1895-1984) and landscapist and gardener Mirei Shigemori (1896-1975) have created some of these gardens, most of which are *karesansui*, or dry landscape gardens.⁸¹ As Hrdlička et al. argue: "With their simplicity of line, harmony of colour, and the fact that they place no bounds on creative imagination, dry gardens seem made for modern architectural design."⁸² The belief that *karesansui* gardens can bridge the divide between traditional Japanese gardens and modern architectural design was what Gropius had argued for. Working predominantly within that

streamlining, geometry, and as Barbara Abs explains, "the changing character and fleeting nature of the effects of light, shadow, sound, space and texture." See Abbs, p. 29. All three men are now known as key figures in the American Modernist movement. Japanese people were also influenced by the Modernist oeuvre as Japanese Architect Sutemi Horiguchi (1895-1984) was influenced by Walter Gropius when visiting Germany. This influence can be seen in his Okada House and Garden, Tokyo, 1933. Elizabeth Kassler describes the Okada garden as "his personal synthesis of contemporary German ideas and the native classical tradition of the early Edo period." See E. B. Kassler, *Modern Gardens And The Landscape*, New York, 1964, p. 21. The garden reflects Gropius's Bauhaus ideals in the multi-levelled areas of rectangular planes. From a height these areas appear as if they could be a Mondrian painting. The geometrical elegance of the terraced garden is reflected in the small ponds which represents the intangible as opposed to the tangibility of the plots of stone gardens.

⁸¹ Mirei Shigemori has not been studied in Western scholarship in a large amount. I rely on Christian Tschumi's scholarship for this section.

⁸² Z. Hrdlička, and V. Hrdličková, and T. Sawano, (ed.) *The Art Of Japanese Gardening*, London, 1989, p. 80.

medium⁸³, I believe that in some respects Mirei Shigemori's gardens can be understood as the manifestation of Gropius's theories.

Born in Yoshikawa village near Okayama city (180 km west of Kyoto), Mirei Shigemori was a scholar and landscape architect based in Kyoto.⁸⁴ He was well-read, studied *ikebana* (flower arranging), *chanoyu* (tea ceremony), *nihonga* (Japanese painting) as well as art history and philosophy.⁸⁵ Shigemori identified the beginning of the garden tradition with the introduction of personal residences. Once the Japanese began to reside in separate houses, Shigemori argued, the population became more insular, home-bound, and thus separated from nature, inspiring a yearning for the natural world. Since travelling to remote places may not have been possible, the Japanese brought nature to themselves, in the form of a garden.⁸⁶

Traditionally, the majority of Japanese gardens were made within temples and shrine complexes. Of course there are exceptions to this, such as the gardens of the wealthy noblemen and aristocracy, but the temple and shrine gardens make up a large number of historical Japanese gardens. Shigemori wanted to infuse spirituality and religion back into all

⁸³ Of the approximately 240 gardens Mirei Shigemori designed, three quarters of them were *karesansui* gardens. See G. Nitschke in Tschumi, *Mirei Shigemori, Rebel In The Garden: Modern Japanese Landscape Architecture*, Basel and Boston, 2007, p. 14.

⁸⁴ C. Tschumi, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 15. In 1924, Mirei Shigemori changed his name. This illustrates his rising talent and his appreciation for European artists and intellectuals. As Tschumi explains, "Around this time when Mirei Shigemori was working on his first gardens, he must have decided that his old name did not suit a burgeoning artist. When he was born, his parents had actually named him Kazuo, a name that was commonplace in the rural towns of Japan at the time. But it seems to have been too common and ordinary for someone like him, so eventually, at the age of 29, he decided to change Kazuo no Mirei. The inspiration for his new name came from the French painter Jean-Francois Millet (1814-1875), whose work he must have learned about in school. To this day, the naturalism of Jean-Francois Millet's work is very popular in Japan. But Millet's work never really matched Mirei Shigemori's preference for abstract art, by artists such as Kandinsky or Monet. It is also an interesting detail that he took Millet's family name and turned it into his own new first new. Moreover, the correct pronunciation of the two characters is "mi-re", so the sound is close but not exactly the same as the original." See C. Tschumi, *Mirei Shigemori, Rebel In The Garden: Modern Japanese Landscape Architecture*, Basel and Boston, 2007, p. 29. In the Japanese language, one pronounces a 'r' by pronouncing a 'r' and 'l' together. This means that a 'r' sounds like a sound between an 'r' and a 'l'. When a Japanese person pronounces 'mi-re' they would pronounce it like 'millet'. Millet's name became Mirei in Japanese pronunciation.

⁸⁵ Tschumi, 2005, p. 15.

⁸⁶ Tschumi, 2007, pp. 37-38.

Japanese gardens, not just gardens inside temple and shrine grounds. He also wanted to redefine the limitations of some of the Japanese gardening traditions. In fact, in the words of art historian Christian Tschumi, Shigemori

saw no apparent reason why the *karesansui* gardens need to be restricted to a religious context only. Quite the contrary, actually; he recognized and used the great potential for abstraction inherent in this garden style as an ideal paradigm for modernized residential gardens in the second half of the twentieth-century Japan.⁸⁷

To be modern, Shigemori believed, was not synonymous with being secular. A garden could be modern and spiritual or religious.

Shigemori's family was Rinzai Buddhist, however Shigemori became more interested the Shintō faith.⁸⁸ He became a devoted member of Shintō as he felt it was a religion closer to nature.⁸⁹ As discussed in Chapter One, Shintō proposes that Shintō gods (*kami*) reside in natural phenomena, such as rocks and trees. This sacralised the environment. There are particularly special places in the Shintō faith which became objects of worship and sacred prayer locations. Sacred rocks, or *iwakura*, are initially revered as they are virtually indestructible. Eventually, as Tschumi writes:

People started to add stones to such an existing *iwakura*, and this is where Shigemori saw the very origin of the Japanese garden. According to him this is the root of the now prominent tradition of stone settings in the garden.

⁸⁷ Tschumi, 2007, p. 54.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 38.

Another example are the ancient *kami ike*, literally “god ponds” also places enhanced or created for the visit of *kami*. Thus into their dwelling places, the garden really came into being. Ponds were created and stone settings erected. Where before nature had been a world made by the deities, man had now put himself on a par with the gods and re-created nature in the forms of these early gardens.⁹⁰

Shigemori believed that to create a garden, in essence, was to create a dwelling place for the *kami*. The spirituality of the garden was renewed and through it the spirituality of its owners and visitors.⁹¹

Shigemori’s career began as a writer. He wrote books on *ikebana* and the Japanese gardening tradition which inspired him to want to create his own gardens.⁹² His most well-known and largest work is a twenty-six volume encyclopaedia entitled *Illustrated Book on the History of the Japanese Garden (Nihon Teienshi Zukan)*. After visiting, analysing and documenting nearly 250 gardens throughout Japan between 1936-1939 with his team, the encyclopaedia was published as “a unique snapshot in time, a time capsule so to speak, and still one of the greatest resources available for the study of the Japanese garden.”⁹³ Research into the Japanese gardening tradition gave Shigemori a foundation on which to base his career.

⁹⁰ Tschumi, 2007, p. 38.

⁹¹ Tschumi argues, “By placing again a strong emphasis on a role and place for the *kami*, Shigemori was able to reintroduce a spiritual experience to the gardens and the people that lived with them.” See Tschumi, 2007, p. 54.

⁹² His first text was on *ikebana*, the nine-volume *Complete Works of Japanese Flower Arrangement Art (Nihon Kado Bijutsu Zenshu)*, which was published in Kyōto in 1930-32. His next text, *Garden (Teien)*, was an analysis of Kyoto’s gardens and was published in 1933 as *Art in Kyōto: Garden Edition (Kyōto Bijutsu Taikan: Teienhen)*. This inspired an interest in gardens and his first residential commissions were completed in Kyoto and Osaka in 1934. These commissions led to his first public commission: the garden at Nara’s Kasuga Taisha shrine. See Tschumi, 2005, p. 15.

⁹³ Tschumi, 2005, p. 15.

Through witnessing and analysing the elements which make up the manifold Japanese gardening tradition, Shigemori became aware of what his own style would become.

Shigemori regarded his gardens not as traditional *karesansui* gardens but as, what he calls, “a new type of *karesansui* garden.”⁹⁴ He argued that this type of garden is not traditional because, instead of recreating natural landscapes, “it depicts the ancient faith in God in the contemporary design appropriate for modern times.”⁹⁵ He claimed that modern society had secularised itself and its gardens, creating bland imitations of existing gardens.⁹⁶ Tschumi noted, “This realisation is what motivated him to work on the modernisation of Japanese gardens himself, in the role of creative garden maker.”⁹⁷ Innovation was one of Shigemori’s dominant goals. “As a passionate advocate for the renewal of the Japanese garden” argues Tschumi, “Mirei Shigemori felt that innovation had come to a halt around the middle of the Edo period and that gardeners since then were just repeating what had been done before.”⁹⁸ Prior to the Edo period, Shigemori noted that the art of garden design was limited to the aristocracy and the wealthy which created an atmosphere of sophistication and educated culture around the Japanese gardening tradition. The later proliferation of guidebooks to the gardens of Japan spurred an interest in the lower levels of society. As Tschumi continues, “Professional garden makers took over, creativity was replaced by nostalgic copying of existing famous garden design or well-known landscapes.”⁹⁹ Manuals of how to construct Japanese gardens also proliferated and Shigemori believed professional garden makers alongside these manuals are, as he stated, “one of the main reasons for the widespread

⁹⁴ Tschumi, 2005, p. 84.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 84.

⁹⁶ Tschumi, 2007, p. 36.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 36.

⁹⁸ Tschumi, 2005, p. 16.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

mediocrity and stagnation in garden making.”¹⁰⁰ Shigemori therefore aspired to renew and modernise Japanese gardens, and the last twenty-five years of his life were dedicated to this goal.¹⁰¹

Shigemori’s attitude towards Japanese gardens was divided. His opinions wavered between advocacy for continuing the Japanese gardening tradition and the attitude of a Modernist interested only in challenging preconceived notions of Japanese gardens. He was a keen Modernist and innovator, yet was also enthusiastic about traditional methods of creation. As Tschumi argues, “Caught between tradition and modernity, Shigemori would always argue that art was the main focus. Art for him meant to engage with life, and, in the case of the garden, with nature, which by definition was undergoing continuous change and constant renewal.”¹⁰²

Shigemori was suspicious of recreation and imitation in the design and creation of gardens.¹⁰³ His opposition to the idea of imitation was fuelled by the ideals of an ephemeral and inconstant nature. In his essay *Shinsakuteiki* (*New Sakuteiki*), Shigemori outlined his perspective on garden design. He wrote that one can only be in the present, and gardens must be too. Gardens should be an original creative product of an artist’s mind, and anything else would be an imitation, deceitful and unnatural.¹⁰⁴ But Shigemori desired not to be of his time only, but of all time. He saw modernity as timeless and his gardens reflect that principle. He claimed: “a garden should have a timeless modernity; what is singularly modern in our time has no real value. A garden that can be admired by anybody at any period in time is what I

¹⁰⁰ Tschumi, 2005, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁰² Tschumi, 2007, p. 35.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 35.

think of as eternally modern.”¹⁰⁵ Shigemori also espoused the virtues of nature, writing that: “the only thing we can trust is nature, and there is no other way than to leave everything in nature’s hands.”¹⁰⁶ In the summary of his encyclopaedia of Japanese gardens, *Gardens of Japan (Nihon Teien)*, 1949, Shigemori argued that:

The influence of nature is particularly strong on the garden, because... it is a man-made landscape, and also because it is made up of the component parts of nature such as land, water, rocks, trees etc. This however does not mean that the garden is a photographic copy of nature, for there are many [gardens] in which the interpretation is symbolic, idealistic or even fantastic.¹⁰⁷

Shigemori did not wish to imitate or copy nature for he believed that would be the equal to exploitation. Shigemori once asked: “Why should we make gardens similar to nature?... It is unnecessary and unnatural to copy nature.”¹⁰⁸

Shishin Sōō no Niwa (Garden of Four Gods) at the Masshō Honzan Sekizō-ji is one example of Shigemori’s garden designs which demonstrates the co-existence of traditional and modernist elements. (Figure 22) Initially, this temple was named Iwakura-ji after the *iwakura* (sacred rock) on the hillside behind the present site.¹⁰⁹ The trees obscured the *iwakura* for many years, until they were cleared and the *iwakura* was once again revealed. This *iwakura* inspired Shigemori to utilise rocks within the garden. The garden refers to the ancient Daoist legend that the world has four protectors which are aligned within the *fengshui* orientation:

¹⁰⁵ Tschumi, 2005, p. 30.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁰⁸ Tschumi, 2007, pp. 51-52.

¹⁰⁹ Tschumi, 2005, p. 77.

the blue dragon, white tiger, red phoenix, and black tortoise.¹¹⁰ The animals are symbolically represented chasing each other counter-clockwise around the garden.¹¹¹ (Figure 22) This garden is traditional in its materials, concept and spiritual connections to ancient gods whilst being Modernist in its colour palette and sense of dynamism. Instead of the usual monochrome palette, Shigemori has utilised the four colours associated with the gods: blue, white, red and black. The colours are subtle but intrinsic to the design which is divided into four almost equal rectangular sections. These four sections are not quite rectangular giving the garden an asymmetrical appearance, an idea common in the Japanese gardening tradition. The rock arrangement is another interesting facet insofar as animals, such as dragons, tigers and phoenix, are not traditionally represented in rock formations in gardens.¹¹² The priests at Masshō Honzan Sekizō-ji were enthusiastic about the creation and Zen Buddhist temples seemed to favour Shigemori's work.¹¹³

Shigemori's garden at Kishiwada-jō was created in 1953 and is located at the 16th century castle in Kishiwada city, Osaka prefecture. (Figure 23) This *karesansui* garden is made up of areas of grey gravel enclosed by a perimeter of slightly raised stone walls. This stone perimeter projects and recedes in what appears to be a jagged and haphazard fashion, which

¹¹⁰ Tschumi, 2007, p. 39. See paragraph on *fengshui*, Chapter One.

¹¹¹ Tschumi, 2005, p. 79.

¹¹² The four rocks in the east sector of the garden create a representation of a dragon with blue sand surrounding them. The head and tail of the dragon is created by two large rocks at either end of a long thin rock making up the body. The dragon is known to be connected to the element of wood and is therefore perceived as the earth guardian. The four very expressive red rocks in the south sector represent a phoenix by utilising two vertically positioned rocks thrusting upwards with red sand surrounding them. As Tschumi explains, "The phoenix also represents the fire element and is considered a guardian against it." The west sector uses four rocks to represent the white tiger with an easily identifiable tiger rock surrounded by white sand. Tschumi explains, "The tiger also represents the element of metal and is considered the wind guardian." The north quadrant symbolises the black tortoise which has a traditional central rounded rock with four evenly spaced rocks which square the rock to represent legs in a bed of black sand. Tschumi further explains, "The tortoise also represents the water element and is considered the water guardian." See Tschumi, 2005, p. 79.

¹¹³ L. Kuck, *The World Of The Japanese Garden: From Chinese Origins To Modern Landscape Art*, New York and Tokyo, 1968, p. 267.

in fact indicates the foundations of the castle's old fortification walls.¹¹⁴ This stone perimeter forms the most integral facet of the garden at Kishiwada-jō. Gravel was traditionally raked into lines, designs and patterns in *karesansui* gardens, but in this garden the practice of raking gravel is rejected in preference of stone lines. This practical and innovative stone design, unlike raked gravel, will remain regardless of the weather. Shigemori explains the design: "I took reference to the old layout of the fortress and transferred it into a modern artistic expression."¹¹⁵ The bird's-eye perspective of this garden illustrates this idea well. (Figure 23)

Shigemori placed eight rock arrangements within the stone perimeters of the garden at Kishiwada-jō. These arrangements depict Zhuge Liang's eight camp battle formation.¹¹⁶ Zhuge Liang (181-234), known in Japan as Shukatsuryō Kōmei, was a chancellor and military strategist for Liu Bei, initiator of the Shu Han dynasty in the Three Kingdom Period of China (220-280).¹¹⁷ One of Zhuge Liang's military strategies was the formation of eight battle-camps to confuse, surround and out-manoeuvre the enemy. The rock arrangement in the middle of the garden at the Kishiwada-jō represents Zhuge Liang's Central Camp which is surrounded by seven other sub-camps.¹¹⁸ These seven sub-camps align with ancient Chinese mythology and are called Heaven, Earth, Wind, Cloud, Dragon, Tiger, Phoenix, and Snake.¹¹⁹ (Figure 23) The central camp claims focal attention as it comprises the largest number of rocks, whereas the sub-camps range from two to nine rocks each.¹²⁰ The stones

¹¹⁴ Shigemori argues: "Castles are supposed to last forever, and the garden attached to such a castle should be designed in the same spirit. This is what I was most concerned about; hence, I made a garden from stone. But I was also inspired by the fact that this is the garden of a fortress, for it is located in the heart of the castle grounds. So in designing the garden's layout as an abstraction of the old fortification system I am referring to the Muromachi period's organisation of the site." See Tschumi, 2005, p. 36.

¹¹⁵ Tschumi, 2005, p. 42.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

¹¹⁷ D.R. McCraw, *Du Fu's Laments From The South*, Honolulu, 1992, pp.107-108.

¹¹⁸ Tschumi, 2005, p. 35.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

used in this garden are *aoishi*, Shigemori's favourite type of stones.¹²¹ These particular stones were sourced from Okinoshima, a small island near Shikoku.¹²²

Shigemori incorporated some ideas into the garden at Kishiwada-jō which in some ways challenge the traditions of the *karesansui* garden. First, although this is a *karesansui* garden, it incorporates aspects of a water-based pleasure garden or a strolling garden. There is no designated position from which to view the garden, instead, one can walk around the garden and view it from every angle, even from the castle tower where one can appreciate its jagged and asymmetrical design.¹²³ Indeed, one of the angles which Shigemori was most concerned with was the bird's-eye view. Shigemori considered this view to be of chief importance due to the development of air-travel.¹²⁴ The garden would be likely to be seen from ground level as well as from above due to the nearby Kansai Airport, therefore it had to make an impact from both views.¹²⁵ Second, Shigemori designed this garden so that people could walk on the stone perimeters without touching the gravel. This had never been attempted before, partly due to the traditions, the taboos associated with the *karesansui*, and due to the cleanliness of the traditional *karesansui* garden's gravel patterns. As Shigemori said of this garden: "If you walk on the outer line, you can jump to the next inner line when the two get close. And then

¹²¹ Tschumi, 2005, p. 38. Tschumi explains: "*Aoishi*, a general term for the blue-green stones that are usually used in the Japanese garden. In most cases *aoishi* stones are green schist. Depending on their area of production they are called Kishu *Aoishi*, Awa *Aoishi*, Iyo *Aoishi*, etc. *Aoishi* is a metamorphic rock and naturally occurs in a vein from Tokyo to Wakayama, Shikoku, and on to Kyushu. It takes on a variety of shapes and can be found in inland valleys as well as near the ocean." See Tschumi, 2005, p. 128.

¹²² Tschumi, 2005, p. 38.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 38. Gropius also espoused a three-dimensional outlook to each design. When designing and constructing the Dessau Bauhaus he wrote, "A building created in the spirit of today spurns the impressive appearance created by symmetrical facades. Only by walking around such buildings is it possible to comprehend their corporeality and the function of their members. See Lupfer and Sigel, p. 38.

¹²⁴ Tschumi, 2005, p. 38.

¹²⁵ Likewise, when designing and constructing the Bauhaus buildings Gropius considered the bird's-eye view to be extremely important. Dessau was known as the headquarters of airplane manufacturers Junkers, so he decided to make each perspective of the Bauhaus equally architecturally interesting. This means that there is no one main entrance or front façade to each Bauhaus building, instead each façade or rooftop is representative of the overall architectural scheme. See Lupfer and Sigel, p. 38.

finally you can step onto the innermost line and even get closer to the centre.”¹²⁶ This transforms the human relationship with the *karesansui* garden, as one could physically interact with it. Third, Shigemori suggested this *karesansui* garden be used as an exhibition and performance space.¹²⁷

Shigemori’s arguably most famous garden is at Tōfuku-ji. The garden is situated around Tōfuku-ji’s *hōjō* (abbot’s quarters) and is called Hassō no Niwa (The Garden of Eight Views). Tōfuku-ji is located in Higashiyama-ku in Kyoto and is the main temple of the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism.¹²⁸ The temple was founded in 1239 by Kujō Michiie (1193-1252), grandson of the chief adviser to Emperor Kujō Kanezane (1149-1207). Seven hundred years later, in 1938, Shigemori was commissioned for the development of Tōfuku-ji’s *hōjō* garden. In accordance with the garden’s name, it has eight components. These are excellent examples of the use of ancient geomantic tradition of *fengshui*, discussed in Chapter One.¹²⁹ The first four components are placed together in the south garden and symbolically represent the isles of the immortals: Hōjō, Hōrai, Eijū, and Koryō.¹³⁰ The nearby fifth view comprises a representation of the five traditional houses of Zen in five small moss-covered hillocks.¹³¹ The sixth view in the west garden is based on a rice-field design where clipped azalea bushes have been pruned to produce a chequer-board pattern. The azalea bushes are set asymmetrically between stones set at ground-level.

¹²⁶ Tschumi, 2005, p. 38.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 38. Tschumi explains, “Two years after the garden’s opening a number of metal sculptures were displayed during an outdoor exhibition. And during that same event Yūgo Shigemori, Mirei Shigemori’s only daughter, gave a traditional Japanese dance performance on the garden stage.” See Tschumi, 2005, p. 40.

¹²⁸ Tschumi, 2005, p. 25.

¹²⁹ S. Harte, *Zen Gardening*, Pavilion, Brighton, 2002, p. 4.

¹³⁰ Tschumi, 2005, p. 28.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 27.

The seventh view is located in the north garden which is comprised of pavers placed in an asymmetrical chequerboard pattern or *ichimatsu mōyo* set into a bed of moss.¹³² (Figure 24) Stone pavers are embedded into the moss and therefore each element is equally significant.¹³³ This garden has been labelled a “masterpiece”, “iconic” and a “symbol of the contemporary Japanese garden that is recognised around the world.”¹³⁴ A number of traditions within Japanese garden design are evident: simplicity, asymmetry, contrast in colour and texture, and the use of the benefits of natural growth. Seventeenth century garden designer, Kobori Enshū (1579-1647), routinely used square pavers set into chequerboard patterns. Tschumi explains that Shigemori “had first seen this grid pattern on the sliding doors of Kyoto’s Katsura Rikyū and in the teahouses of Shugakuin Rikyū, both famous garden and building complexes, built in the seventeenth century.”¹³⁵ Another inspiration for this garden was in one of Tōfuku-ji’s subtemples, Fumon-in, which features a chequerboard pattern raked into a flat sand area. (Figure 25) This plane of raked sand represents the Chinese Han dynasty’s (206 BCE- 220 AD) ‘well-field system’, an idealised method of dividing agricultural land.¹³⁶ Shigemori drew on these garden designs, amalgamated them, and reinterpreted them in an asymmetrical design. The fact that Shigemori could create such a vividly symbolic garden whilst renewing a seventeenth century motif which is still used international Modernists and Post-Modernist today, proves its adaptability.¹³⁷ The eighth view is located on the eastern side of the entrance-way corridor. This view represents the constellation known as the ‘Big Dipper’ portrayed in a stone arrangement which is placed in a bed of white sand which represents a cloud.¹³⁸

¹³² Harte, p. 4.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 4.

¹³⁴ Tschumi, 2005, p. 16.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

¹³⁶ Main and Platten, p. 107. As Main and Platten explain, “The system grouped square fields in blocks of nine, three fields each side with a common well in the centre, and the arrangement was held to generate cooperation, self-sufficiency and social stability in agricultural communities.” See Main and Platten, p. 107.

¹³⁷ Tschumi, 2005, p. 32.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 30.

Critics often perceive Shigemori's designs as abstract non-figurative gardens, akin to self-referential paintings. As Tschumi states, "In the context of Shigemori's work abstraction becomes a way of being Japanese and being modern at the same time, while neither falling prey to nor divorcing oneself from tradition."¹³⁹ However, I believe Shigemori's ideas are better understood as examples of reduction and simplification, qualities common in Modernism. As Shigemori claimed, "the artistic value of the garden is proportionate to the degree of simplification carried out."¹⁴⁰ The rejection of any superfluous elements may be confused with abstraction but as the above three gardens illustrate, Shigemori's garden designs are clearly representational as are the predominant amount of his work. Shigemori's works are both traditional and innovative.

New and innovative materials and styles became important in the creation of modern Japanese gardens. The use of concrete, strict geometric designs, colour alongside traditional materials of rocks, sand, gravel, moss, shrubs and trees, created a new form of modern Japanese gardens which represented both the traditional and the innovative. In many of Shigemori's gardens, he left spaces devoid of elements.¹⁴¹ Thinking as a painter, Shigemori was enthusiastic about what one could call 'empty spaces' or *yohaku no bi*, 'beauty of extra white'.¹⁴² This ordinarily refers to the unpainted piece of a painting or an empty piece of a garden. As Keane explains, "*yohaku-no-bi* is not, however, an aesthetic revelling in whiteness or promoting the use of white or any such thing – it focuses, instead, on what is left out of a design rather than what is put in."¹⁴³ "These places," Shigemori notes, "because of

¹³⁹ Tschumi, 2005, p. 52.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁴¹ For example, at Kishiwada-jō there are multiple 'empty spaces' in which one could imagine the battle formations or soldiers.

¹⁴² Keane, 2004, p. 57.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 57.

the very fact that they are vacant, stimulate one's imagination. In this respect, these areas can be called the ones left open for observers to create their own scenery."¹⁴⁴ Notable adherents to *yohaku-no-bi* are painters of the Japanese art training institution, the Kano school. This idea is usually expressed when empty space predominates the pictorial space of a painting. In gardens, as Shigemori explained, viewers could imagine the rest of the garden design themselves. The use of vacant spaces is one which Modernists also used prolifically.¹⁴⁵ This can be seen as one point of alignment between Shigemori's gardens and Modernist design.

Shigemori was both a Moderniser and a Modernist. He was a Moderniser in his wish to renew, yet due to his enthusiasm for European Modernists and their theories, and use of new materials coupled with his rejection of imitation and engrained rules of garden design, he was Modernist. Kendall H. Brown argues that, "In the contours of his biography as in the content of his design and writing, Mirei Shigemori was a paradigmatic Japanese Modernist. Indeed to understand Japanese Modernism more fully we must examine Mirei Shigemori."¹⁴⁶ As a Western art historian, Brown illustrates the Western view of Shigemori. Shigemori never left his native country of Japan and rejected the imitation of European styles, in spite of them being embraced in wider Japan. He argued that Western objects and styles were inappropriate in Japanese culture and society,¹⁴⁷ yet he was so enthusiastic about European culture and theoretical discourse that he even named his children after European figures such as Kant, Hugo, Goethe and Byron.¹⁴⁸ Once again he can be seen as embedded in tradition whilst also being an enthusiastic innovator.

¹⁴⁴ Tschumi, 2005, p. 22.

¹⁴⁵ See Figures 17, 19, and 20.

¹⁴⁶ Brown in Tschumi, *Mirei Shigemori, Rebel In The Garden: Modern Japanese Landscape Architecture*, Basel and Boston, 2007, p. 15.

¹⁴⁷ Tschumi, 2007, p. 35.

¹⁴⁸ Brown in Tschumi, 2007, p. 15.

(v) Conclusion

The place of tradition in the modern context, despite strong assertions otherwise from practitioners of Modernism, is the underlying idea in this chapter. I believe the most prevalent way in which Gropius and Shigemori can be seen to have been aligned is their mutual belief in the processes of renewal and revitalisation. Both Gropius and Shigemori were dedicated to finding this confluence point of past and present through these processes. They believed in the possibilities of renewing traditional aspects of design whilst allowing their co-existence with innovations. Both saw modern globalisation, industrialisation and urbanisation's negative effect on the world which had created a sense of repetitive and monotonous design. Through renewal and revitalisation, these designers desired to cease the creation of mediocre and stagnated imitations and create new designs for the modern world.

Gropius knew the traditional forms of architecture he wanted to improve, renew and revitalise. "We have had enough" he declared, "of the arbitrary reproduction of historic styles."¹⁴⁹ He furthermore wrote, "The crafts and also the industries need a fresh influx of artistic creativity in order to enliven the forms which have gone stale and to reshape them."¹⁵⁰ He was part of the urban renewal process after World War II, as the 1957 Interbau Hansaviertel apartments illustrate, yet he was philosophically interested in the process of renewing and revitalising not only towns but the also artistic world. "A breach" he declared, "has been made with the past, which allows us to envisage a new aspect of architecture corresponding to the technical civilisation of the age we live in; the morphology of dead style has been destroyed; and we are returning to honesty of thought and feeling."¹⁵¹ This need for thoughtful and expressive design impelled Gropius to raise craftsmen to the artists level

¹⁴⁹ W. Gropius, *The New Architecture And The Bauhaus*, Boston, 1965, p. 44.

¹⁵⁰ W. Gropius, 'Address To Weimar Craftsmen And Industry Representatives', Spring 1919, in W. Gropius, 'The Bauhaus: Crafts Or Industry?' in *The Journal Of Architectural Education*, Vol. 18, No. 2, September 1963, pp. 31-32.

¹⁵¹ D. Kolb, *Postmodern Sophistications: Philosophy, Architecture And Tradition*, Chicago, 1990, p. 88.

through the Bauhaus.¹⁵² However, even as the Bauhaus's director, Gropius felt that one could not simply learn to create art. He stated in the 1919 'Bauhaus Manifesto and Program', that "art cannot be taught" and "art is not a profession."¹⁵³ Instead, despite time-honoured academy training steeped in imitation of the masters, a Bauhaus student created art through their own beliefs and surroundings. As Shigemori emphatically stated, Gropius believed one must create designs corresponding to one's own age as imitating the past would be a deceit. Shigemori claimed,

Classic traditions are precious, but we should not imitate what has been done already. The older garden makers understood this very well... While we are influenced by the gardens of the past and must consider the desires of the garden owner, we should still strive to create something different whenever we undertake a new piece of work.¹⁵⁴

Renewal and revitalisation are therefore the only ways to utilise traditional elements of designs without becoming a slave to imitation.

Gropius and Shigemori believed that renewal and revitalisation were the key processes which underpinned the development of creativity throughout the ages. "Renewal... is," as Mirei Shigemori claimed, "the continuous development of the art of the Japanese garden."¹⁵⁵

Gropius similarly stated "Our life is not yet settled, so modern architecture is not yet settled. It is in the making. Instead, the flow of continuous growth, the change in expression in

¹⁵² See W. Gropius, *Bauhaus Manifesto And Program*, Weimar, April 1919, p. 1-5.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁵⁴ Kuck, p. 266.

¹⁵⁵ Tschumi, 2005, p. 10.

accordance with the change in life, should be underlined.”¹⁵⁶ Gropius noted in his article, ‘Tradition And Continuity In Architecture’, that “the word ‘tradition’ comes from the Latin word *tradere*, i.e, transmit, carry on.”¹⁵⁷ In this way, Gropius saw tradition as a process of historical transmissions bringing about growth and change. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the world was going through an era of unprecedented transmissions which spread Modernism and Japanese artistic styles internationally. “I dare say” Gropius declared, “that we are today much more influenced by each other than in former centuries, because of the development of interchange and intercommunication. This must be welcome, as it enriches us and promotes a common denominator of understanding, so badly needed.”¹⁵⁸

Gropius and Shigemori believed that to change a tradition by renewing or revitalising it can be seen as part its continuous development. They wished to change tradition through renewal for the sake of growth, and not for the goal to be hybridisation. Gropius wrote, “Do we really want a truly universal style to be a meeting of the Oriental and the Occidental? I am afraid of it... The International Style is neither international nor a style.”¹⁵⁹ Indeed, as previously discussed, the International Style was contested as a label for Modernist architecture of the early twentieth century. However, one reason this title was unacceptable is because it was not entirely correct. It is correct in the fact that Modernism was adopted internationally, yet it is not correct due to the fact Modernism was not one international style. Each country in which it was adopted imbued its own sense of nationality and identity into its own regional style of Modernism. Each permeation of Modernism is therefore different. It is international in its adoption but regional due to the different traditions integrated within each permeation.

¹⁵⁶ A. H. Barr and W. Gropius, et. al., ‘What Is Happening To Modern Architecture? A Symposium At The Museum Of Modern Art’ in *The Bulletin Of The Museum Of Modern Art*, Vol. 15, No. 3, New York, Spring 1948, p. 11.

¹⁵⁷ W. Gropius, ‘Tradition And Continuity In Architecture’ in *Architectural Record*, New York, May-July, 1964, p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ Gropius, ‘Walter Gropius’ in Barr and Gropius, et. al., p. 12.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

In Japanese architecture, Gropius saw solutions to many of the problems he aligned with Western architecture. In reference to historical Japanese architecture, he wrote, “[t]he past had already found the answer to many of our modern requirements...” Here, Gropius indicates that he recognised the international potential for the adoption of traditional Japanese forms as well as understanding the potential for these historical art forms to inform Japanese modernisation. He further wrote “the modernity of the traditional house is striking as it contains perfect solutions - already centuries old - of problems which the contemporary Western architect is still wrestling with today.”¹⁶⁰ He believed that if both Japanese and Western designers embraced the Japanese architectural and gardening traditions whilst utilising Modernist ideas, methods, and techniques, they could modernise in a Japanese way. Shigemori’s gardens are one example of this process. The piece of Zen Buddhist advice which inspired Gropius comes to mind here, which suggested one should, “develop an infallible technique, and then place yourself at the mercy of inspiration.”¹⁶¹ Shigemori’s gardens can be seen to represent the convergence of the ‘infallible technique’ of the Japanese gardening tradition and the ‘inspiration’ of the Modernist ideas espoused by Gropius and other key European Modernists, discussed earlier.

Through examining Shigemori’s career, one can see Gropius’ theories manifest themselves in garden form. Gropius wrote in ‘Architecture In Japan’: “I believe that the difficult transformation from a traditional to a modern form of society, adapted to the industrial age,

¹⁶⁰ Gropius, 1955, p. 29.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 18. Shigemori advocated the traditional relationship of Japanese gardens and religion whilst Gropius, when in Japan, found inspiration in the Zen Buddhist’s gardens and advice. Through attempting to describe the history of Zen Buddhism in his article, ‘Architecture In Japan’, Gropius indicates his understanding of the intimate relationship of this religion, morality and art. He wrote, One point of the Zen philosophy interests me particularly, namely, that it considers art impulses as more basic, more innate, than those of morality. It takes morality to be only regulative, but art to be creative, and so finds its inevitable association with art, not, in the first place, with morality.¹⁶¹ Through his wishes for the Bauhaus, Gropius also aligned the Bauhaus’s Modernist designs with religion. He believed the Bauhaus could unite craftsmen, artisans, workers and artists who could stand side-by-side in their “new faith”¹⁶¹ of revitalised design.

should be carried through by the Japanese in the spirit of their *own* culture...”¹⁶² Shigemori may be seen to have achieved Gropius’ aims. He had the skills, knowledge, and passion to invent designs to renew traditional forms. Throughout Shigemori’s career his target remained: the renewal of the art form of gardening in Japan. Just as Gropius desired to revitalise design, for Shigemori to renew the Japanese gardening tradition he had to restore something which has been left in the past.

Shigemori demonstrated through his gardens that to be Modern is not necessarily international. As Christophe Girot argues, “Shigemori is probably one of the last Japanese landscape designers not to have been affected by American culture.”¹⁶³ Shigemori’s gardens are clearly ‘Japanese’ with no attempt at internationalism, but are still Modern, indicating a particular Japanese Modernism. Although Shigemori wanted to change the landscape of Japanese garden design, he still felt it was necessary to retain spiritual Japanese associations and traditional Japanese aesthetics, symbolism and techniques which had created that art-form. Japan was modernised, as Tschumi argues, “without losing its identity to an indifferent global style”,¹⁶⁴ and so was the Japanese gardening tradition. The next step is to consider the impact of this tradition on the global community in a physical sense, and the global community’s impact upon this tradition.

¹⁶² Gropius, 1955, p. 80.

¹⁶³ Girot in Tschumi, *Mirei Shigemori, Rebel In The Garden: Modern Japanese Landscape Architecture*, Basel and Boston, 2007, p. 11.

¹⁶⁴ Tschumi, 2005, p. 119.

Chapter Three: Modernism And The Japanese Garden in New Zealand

In the 1950s, the use of Modernist aesthetics and Japanese-inspired design became popular trends in the arts of New Zealand, especially within the field of landscape architecture.¹ In fact they were consistently paired, which increased their popularity prolifically. This pairing was due to the earlier European and American Modernists' enthusiasm for Japanese-inspired design, discussed in Chapter Two. This chapter will outline the introduction and assess the impact that Modernism and Japanese-inspired design had on New Zealand and its landscape architecture. One landscape architect in particular, Odo Strewe (1910-1985), working in the decades after World War II, assisted in the introduction of these styles into New Zealand private gardens. An analysis of Strewe's work will serve as an indicator of the introduction and proliferation of Japanese-inspired and Modernist-inspired gardens in New Zealand, while an examination of New Zealand's private and public Japanese-inspired exemplifies wider trends and issues resulting from their introduction.

The integration, hybridisation and translation of these Japanese-inspired elements into the New Zealand context is also discussed. In most cases, Japanese elements of design were translated from Japan to England, France or the United States of America before reaching New Zealand. Here, translated elements of Japanese designs were often made without knowledge of Japanese aesthetics, principles and ideas. These elements were also integrated into other gardens often creating hybrid gardens. Even so, these elements were labelled 'Japanese' and proliferated in New Zealand just as they had earlier in the twentieth century during the height of the *Japonisme* fervour. Indeed, by the 1930s and 1940s, the gardens of the *Japonisme* tradition in New Zealand had simply become another type of New Zealand garden. Even the term 'New Zealand garden' is a multifarious entity with no prototype or

¹ Beattie, Heinzen and Adam, p. 231.

specific style. In fact, historian of New Zealand gardens Rod Barnett argues, “the New Zealand garden does not exist”², it is represented only by the multicultural mélange of its pluralist inhabitants. Each generation of Japanese-inspired gardens had no relationship to earlier Japanese-inspired gardens made in New Zealand, perhaps due to the successful integration of elements of Japanese design into New Zealand garden design, to avoid imitation, or due to Modernism’s supposed lack of historical inspiration.³ New Zealand’s history of translation and integration of these international styles resulted in the creation of some of New Zealand’s most praised gardens which serve as examples of antipodean globalisation, stylistic translation, intellectual sophistication and cultural hybridisation.

(i) Odo Strewe

Odo Strewe (Fredrich George Maria Theodor Strewe) arrived in New Zealand in June 1938 as a German refugee fleeing the imminent terror of Hitler’s Germany.⁴ Before leaving, he had worked as a graphic artist after training at the State Agricultural School and studying journalism at the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig.⁵ He was well-read, a regular visitor to the major German art galleries, and a very active part in Communist politics, joining the Antifaschistische Schutzstaffel, “the anti-fascist security groups”,⁶ designed to protect citizens against the Nazis. As these groups were quashed immediately after the National Socialists rose to power, Strewe’s activism found its expression in an alternative underground organisation. His political views saw him arrested, interrogated and beaten in the Gestapo

² R. Barnett, ‘The Eclectic Garden’ in M. Bradbury, (ed.) *A History Of The Garden In New Zealand*, Auckland, 1995, p. 173.

³ Ibid., p. 231.

⁴ S. Thompson, *Odo Strewe, 1910-1985: Garden Designer*, Research Paper 604, Unitec, Auckland, October 1998, p. 6.

⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

headquarters for five days.⁷ Strewe left on the 5th of May 1937, bound for, as he said at the time, “the furthest place away from Hitler’s Germany”, which turned out to be New Zealand.⁸

His first three years in New Zealand were difficult. He accepted any job he could find with the help of some new acquaintances such as author, Frank Sargeson.⁹ However, on September 23rd 1939, sixteen months after Strewe’s arrival, New Zealand declared war on Germany. As a result, in November 1940, Strewe was arrested and held on Somes Island in Wellington Harbour as a potentially hostile alien.¹⁰ He was held there for almost five years, apart from one escape attempt which lasted only five days.¹¹ Strewe was released in October 1945 and was able to become interested in landscape architecture again as he had whilst attending German State Agricultural School. He began designing gardens in the late 1940s and soon moved to Auckland where he began his business, the Auckland Landscape Gardening Service.¹² Strewe became associated with the progressive architects of The Group, who were interested in introducing Modernism into New Zealand.

The Group began as a gathering of six second-year architectural students in Auckland in April 1946.¹³ The general aim of The Group was, as its constitution states, “to further the appreciation of good planning and design in New Zealand.”¹⁴ Their manifesto, *On The Necessity For Architecture*, concludes that, “overseas solutions will not do. New Zealand

⁷ Thompson, p. 5.

⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 7. Maurice Gee’s novel, *Live Bodies*, is based upon the internment of Odo Strewe and Viennese communist Bert Roth on Somes Island. Gee sourced their experiences from archival records such as the Alien’s Tribunal. See M. Gee, *Live Bodies*, Auckland, 1998.

¹¹ Thompson, p. 7.

¹² Ibid., p. 8.

¹³ Ibid., p. 32. The original Group consisted of Bill Wilson (chairman), Marilyn Hart (treasurer), Allan Wild, Bill Toomath, Bruce Rotherham and Barbara Parker. Later in 1949, Bret Penman joined making it a seven member group and others followed. See the Constitution of the Architectural Group, http://www.architecture-archive.auckland.ac.nz/docs/aaGroup_constitution_document_sml.pdf.

¹⁴ See the Constitution of the Architectural Group, http://www.architecture-archive.auckland.ac.nz/docs/aaGroup_constitution_document_sml.pdf.

must have its own architecture, its own sense of what is beautiful and appropriate to our climate and conditions.”¹⁵ Although they claimed a domestic purpose, they gleaned inspiration on how to operate their co-operative organisation from, as their constitution says, the Deutsche Werkbund, the Modern Architectural Research Group and the Association of Building Technicians in England. They also sought endorsement from international sources, including Modernist architect Richard Neutra whose letter of approval of their manifesto was published in the first and only issue of their magazine, ‘Planning’.¹⁶ This endorsement, and the international sources of inspiration, did impact upon their designs. The Group’s thirty domestic residences designed in the late 1940s and 1950s parallel Californian architectural design of that period which were themselves inspired by aspects of Japanese architectural and landscape design.¹⁷ The Group’s enthusiasm for Californian style inspired Strewe’s later garden designs. The Group received local and international acclaim and commissioned Strewe for many of their domestic and public projects. Strewe actually designed, as Paul

¹⁵ See the Manifesto of the Architectural Group, http://www.architecture-archive.auckland.ac.nz/docs/aaGroup_Manifesto_document_sml.pdf.

¹⁶ P. Walker, 'A New Monument In A New Land' in J. Birksted, *Landscapes Of Memory And Experience*, Taylor And Francis, London, 2000, p. 34.

¹⁷ The thirty domestic residences which were designed by The Group in the late 1940s and the 1950s can be compared to contemporaneous Californian architectural design. See P. Walker, 'A New Monument In A New Land' in J. Birksted, *Landscapes Of Memory And Experience*, Taylor And Francis, London, 2000, p. 34. One of the original members of The Group, Emeritus Professor Allan Wild, confirmed The Group were inspired by Californian design when speaking about The Group’s career at The Modern World Conference, Unitec School of Design, Auckland, 18 November 1995. See Walker in Birksted, p. 44. The emphasis on mass-production and standardisation are two areas where the two entities overlap. As the Manifesto of the Architectural Group states, “The nature of the machine and the method of mass-production demand standardisation... standardisation does not mean monotony. The brick is a standard which has been accepted for years. Timber sizes are standardised. Standardisation means merely an increase of size of units commensurate with the nature and capacity of this new and more efficient tool.” See the Manifesto of the Architectural Group, http://www.architecture-archive.auckland.ac.nz/docs/aaGroup_Manifesto_document_sml.pdf. Even architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner drew unfortunate comparisons between Californian design and New Zealand design of this period. In his piece, ‘New Zealand’, Pevsner alluded to New Zealand architectural design’s penchant for, as Walker describes, “crude detailing”. See Walker in Birksted, p. 44. Pevsner wrote: “...California is not all that old and yet is quite capable of taking its details seriously.” See N. Pevsner, 'New Zealand' in *Architectural Review*, Commonwealth Special 1, vol. 126, No. 752, October, 1959, pp. 203-217. Both the Group architects and Californian architects of this period designed homes which were modern, functional, space-efficient, and innovative, if inappropriately detailed according to Pevsner. With these international roots, the Group received both local and international acclaim for their constructions.

Walker claims, “the garden of one of their most important domestic projects.”¹⁸ Eventually, Strewe himself commissioned a house from The Group architects.¹⁹

(ii) Strewe And The California Style

In the 1960s, Strewe began to create gardens in the style of the designs of contemporaneous Californian landscape architects. In particular, as the Californians did, Strewe began to take the existing structure of the house into account when designing a garden, to allow integration of the interior and the exterior of the house. As art historian Sue Thompson states: “It is notable that only in the drawings of these later gardens [such as Mr. and Mrs Conyngham’s 1962 Orakei garden and Mr. R.H. Culpan, 1967 Remuera garden] does he include the floor plan of the house to show the relationship of rooms to garden spaces; on the plans of the 1950s designs, the house was simply outlined.”²⁰ Thompson argues this is an “influence of the Californian garden designers, notably Church and Eckbo,”²¹ and it was only when this influence “began to percolate through to the New Zealand scene, that house and garden really started to function as an integrated whole. Strewe’s designs of the 1960s and ‘70s show an increasing confidence in handling the flow of space from house to garden, and are strongly influenced by the Californian Style.”²² Both Thomas Church (1902-1978) and Garrett Eckbo (1910-2000)²³ can be seen as the forerunners of the California Style. Church taught Eckbo his

¹⁸ Walker in Birksted, p. 34. Strewe commented on this project in one of his articles for *New Zealand Modern Homes and Gardens*, where he describes the approach to the house, “Long before we could see the section, the house itself was visible. There was no doubt by the visible forms of construction of this dwelling it could have only been designed by Group Architects... who, to the delight of any landscape architect, place the house in such a way that it is not forced on to the section, but is integrated with it.” See O. Strewe, ‘Garden For A Sloping Section’, *New Zealand Modern Homes and Gardens*, Summer 1959-60, pp. 135-137.

¹⁹ Walker in Birksted, p. 34.

²⁰ Thompson, p. 32.

²¹ Ibid., p. 32.

²² Ibid., p. 32.

²³ Thomas Church (1902-1978) is known to advocate and explore the limits of modern movement in landscape architecture and of course what is known as the ‘California Style’. His book, *Gardens Are For People* (1983), emphasises four points which he considered before beginning any design project: unity, function, simplicity and scale. See Church, Thomas, and Hall, Grace, and Laurie, Michael, *Gardens Are For People*, Third Edition, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995, pp. 29-31. These qualities are relatable to Christopher Tunnard’s theories as set out in his text, *Gardens In The Modern Landscape* (1938). Tunnard and Church both consider

principles whilst teaching at the University of California in Berkeley, and Eckbo went on to Harvard University's Graduate School of Design where he studied under Walter Gropius. Gropius taught Eckbo about the beauty of Japanese design which sparked his pupil's interest in Japanese-style elements of the California Style and Modernism. In his text, *The Art Of Home Landscaping*, Eckbo described Japanese gardens as “nonlinear”²⁴, referring to their asymmetrical design. His conception of the Japanese gardening tradition was predominantly spatial and he was significantly affected by what he saw as the asymmetrical and compositionally dynamic aspects of the Japanese gardening tradition. As discussed in Chapter One, the orientation of specific objects and features was important in the Japanese gardening tradition and relates to the ideas of *fengshui* and *kowan ni shitagau*.

Garrett Eckbo was, as Walker argues, first known in New Zealand through a publication in *Architectural Review*, 'Landscape Design in the USA as Applied to the Private Garden in California'.²⁵ Here, Eckbo declared that a project should be designed as “a co-ordinated series of rationally connected and related indoor and outdoor rooms”.²⁶ Strewe quoted that statement in many of his articles published in Palmers' nursery catalogues.²⁷ He subsequently

functionality to be essential, whilst unity, simplicity, scale, and wish for empathy for nature and the use of local materials and plantings are of great importance. He was known for his modern yet traditional aesthetics and like Mirei Shigemori wished to amalgamate the two supposed opposites. See K. Starr, *Golden Dreams: California In An Age Of Abundance, 1950-1963*, Oxford, 2009, p. 36. Church even wrote of the exterior in the vocabulary of an interior, by dividing separate parts of the exterior and therefore delineating “rooms”. See Church's *Gardens Are For People*, p. 10. Garrett Eckbo (1910-2000) was a student of Church's whilst attending the University of California in Berkeley, majoring in landscape architecture. He was also inspired by Tunnard's *Gardens In The Modern Landscape* and like Church, he wrote, “Gardens are fragments of space”. After completing time working in a nursery, he went on to win a competition for a scholarship to Harvard University's Graduate School of Design where he studied under Walter Gropius. Gropius encouraged Eckbo's eccentricity and inspired him to consider international sources such as Japanese aesthetics for influences. See M. Treib, and D. Imbert, *Garrett Eckbo: Modern Landscapes for Living*, Berkeley, 1996, p. viii-xi. Eckbo's text *Landscape For Living* (1950) is still considered to be one of the most significant texts in landscape architecture today.

²⁴ G. Eckbo, *The Art Of Home Landscaping*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1956, p. 74.

²⁵ Walker in Birksted, p. 34.

²⁶ G. Eckbo, 'Landscape Design In The USA As Applied To The Private Garden In California' in *Architectural Review*, Vol. 105, No. 625, 1949, pp. 24-32.

²⁷ O. Strewe 'Landscaping - An Introduction' in *Palmers Winter Planting Guide*, Palmers, Auckland, 1962, p. 1, and O. Strewe, 'Your Garden' in *Palmers Catalogue*, Palmers, Auckland, 1967, p. 1. See Walker in Birksted, p. 45.

illustrated his enthusiasm for Eckbo's theories, as Walker writes, through his, "description of the completed design for the Group's Catley House as 'the integration of the uncovered space [land] with the covered space [house]'"²⁸ Being inspired by these landscape architects, Strewe became enthusiastic about the California Style and all of its characteristics. This serves as an important link between the Japanese gardens discussed in Chapter One, which in turn inspired the European Modernists discussed in Chapter Two, and New Zealand's landscape architectural history.

What became known as 'The Californian Style' began in California in the early twentieth century. In this period, California was inhabited by many immigrants of varied origins, including people from Spain, South America, Europe and Asia. The California Style reflected the multifarious origins of its inhabitants. One key ingredient in this style was inspiration from Japanese design. Japanese gardeners often tended wealthy Californians' gardens and many of them infused Japanese elements into them.²⁹ As art historian Alexander Wilson argues, "The spare use of stone, the presence of water, the textural possibilities of wood and gravel: these are Japanese design strategies that have had... far reaching influence on North American gardens."³⁰ The California Style initiated the integration of interior and exterior as an important element of design, insofar as the garden stylistically matching the house and its interior. The bungalow-style home became California's answer to Japan's traditional *shoin* architecture which also reflects a connection with nature. As discussed in Chapter One, a *shoin* was the reception room for greeting guests and for cultural pursuits containing three

²⁸ Walker in Birksted, p. 34.

²⁹ A. Wilson, *The Culture Of Nature: North American Landscape From Disney To The Exxon Valdez*, Toronto, 1991, p. 104.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 104.

inalienable aspects: *tokonoma* (alcove), *chigai-dana* (shelves) and an *engawa* (veranda) on one side which opened to a garden.³¹ (Figure 26)

The bungalow-style house became very popular in California. One example of this is Charles and Henry Greene's Japanese-style bungalows in Pasadena, California.³² (Figure 27) In many ways, these bungalows initiated and now represent the California Style aesthetic, with its emphasis on horizontality, integrated interior and exterior, especially with its inclusion of the sleeping porch, and the use of both local and exotic plants in the garden. This was coupled with the organic interior aesthetics, iconography and materials such as wood throughout the structure. This style was soon translated into Australia and New Zealand and Strewe was one of its most enthusiastic advocates.³³ His design of Mr. W. Subritzky in Mt. Roskill, Auckland, for instance, visually confirms this source of inspiration. (Figure 28)

From 1962 to 1964, Strewe designed one of his largest and most well-known gardens in New Zealand. Mr. Subritzky's eight-acre garden was featured on the cover of many issues of Palmer's nursery catalogues through the 1960s and 1970s.³⁴ In this garden, the inspiration of the California Style was clearly articulated through the rejection of axial planning, where a piece of architecture or landscape architecture was composed according to its longitudinal axis.³⁵ An axial-planned garden is designed according to the central axis which dictates the deliberate positioning of elements or features. This type of garden, emphasising symmetry, are formal and linear. The rejection of this tradition highlights one of the California Style's revolutionary elements a characteristic shared with the Japanese gardening tradition. Strewe

³¹ JAANUS Listing of 'shoin', <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/shoin.htm>.

³² M. Rand, *Greene & Greene*, Layton, Utah, 2005, p. 1.

³³ A. Franklin, *Nature And Social Theory*, Thousand Oaks, California, 2002, p. 169.

³⁴ Thompson, p. 19.

³⁵ D. Lloyd-Jenkins, 'Odo Strewe: Modern Homes, Modern Gardens' in M. Bradbury, (ed.) *A History Of The Garden In New Zealand*, Auckland, 1995, p. 164.

wrote, “One does not design gardens considering the layout of the land alone. I always want to have a very good look at the future dweller; the kind of house they are having their architect design for them.”³⁶ Strewe’s main objectives were designing a garden according to the land available, satisfying the client’s requirements and integrating house and garden. As he also claimed, “In dealing with house and garden we are dealing with two different spaces. One which is roofed in, the other is an open area around the house. The object of a good landscape must be to create a oneness of house and garden, a harmony where the plant environment does not stop abruptly around the house, but flows over and through it.”³⁷ These passages illustrate the direct links between Strewe’s view on design and Eckbo’s ideas, especially in the former’s discussion of the spatial reality of a garden.

Mr. Subritzky’s garden was constructed in light of the client’s lifestyle and aesthetic preferences. As Strewe wrote, “It is for that human being - man, woman or child, with their individuality, their longings, their aims, their boredoms and disappointments - for whom the garden, just as the house, should be designed.”³⁸ The garden was divided into many areas due to the expansiveness of the site and the client’s desire for a multi-use garden. The garden unfolded as one walked through it. (Figure 28) Scenes were revealed and hidden in the style of *mie gakure*, or ‘seen and unseen’ which was a principle used in the composition of the traditional Japanese stroll garden such as the *daimyō* gardens discussed in Chapter One.³⁹ A. McLachlan and Strewe designed a swimming pool which was curved in a sinuous, organic and undulating fashion and was surrounded by small plots of different plantings, some of which include New Zealand tussock (*Chionochloa conspicua*) and taro (*Colocasia esculenta*). (Figure 28) In the middle of the pool was a palm-covered island which created a

³⁶ O. Strewe, ‘A Garden For Relaxation...Not Backache’ in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 6, November 1951, p. 33.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 60.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 60.

³⁹ Keane, 2004, p. 143.

lush tropical theme. The undulating forms of the lagoon-style pool and the choice of plantings illustrate the inspiration of the California Style of landscape architecture. During his travels through the Pacific to reach New Zealand, Strewe expressed a preference for ‘rubber’ or large wax-leafed plants for their effect.⁴⁰ As Strewe himself noted, “The rubber plant has about it a geometrical precision, a lack of frills, that endeared it to the architects of the Bauhaus period.”⁴¹ By using these plants in his own garden designs, Strewe indicated his alignment with the Modernist movement and its preference for lack of ornament and streamlining. He also used these Bauhaus-favoured plants because they reflected the qualities which he saw in the Japanese gardening tradition such as clear, rigid, and precise geometry, coupled with minimalism, lack of ornament, and streamlining. The Subritzky garden was an impressive commission not only due to its size, but also because of the imagination of its designer.

(iii) Strewe And Modernism In New Zealand

Strewe became one of the foremost advocates of Modernism in landscape architecture in New Zealand. Given his background, it is not surprising that he was drawn to the idealism which was embodied in the Modernist movement, coupled with the fact that Germany had already experienced the Modernist aesthetic for at least two decades before he arrived in New Zealand.⁴² He wrote numerous articles about Modernism in relation to his work in periodicals such as *Home and Building* and *New Zealand Modern Home and Garden*. As Thompson

⁴⁰ Lloyd-Jenkins, p. 164. Throughout his career, Strewe repeatedly used subtropical and tropical plants as they created a visual statement and produced a lush and dense aesthetic to a garden. He would couple plants together with different leaf structures to create contrast and dynamism throughout the garden as one can see in Figure 28. Large-leafed ‘rubber’ or ‘wax’ plants give form to a garden which gives these plants precedence over flowers which are the usual attractions in a Western garden. In a California Style garden, the plants themselves provide the garden’s structure and composition. Green vegetation was given prominence in these gardens with few accents of colour. Subtropical plants are known for their abilities to define the structure and composition of a garden as their leaves are striking in their structural form and create layered effects. These layered effects provided cover between each section of the garden.

⁴¹ Lloyd-Jenkins, p. 164.

⁴² Thompson, p. 31.

argues, “in many of his writings there is an air of the magnanimous designer bestowing the beneficent light of reason, through good design, on the naïve masses.”⁴³ In fact, historian Douglas Lloyd-Jenkins goes so far as to say,

[t]o commission an Odo Strewe garden in the 1950s was to publicly declare one’s modernity, to exhibit a progressive point of view and, in doing so, to position oneself willingly outside the norm – a brave stance in a decade that viewed both advanced ideas and their promulgators with immense suspicion.⁴⁴

Strewe was certainly a unique presence in New Zealand.

To achieve a Modernist aesthetic in a New Zealand context, Strewe used materials new to the New Zealand garden such as plasterwork and cement, whilst keeping his designs practical, functional, geometrical and stripped of any unnecessary elements. He believed that the modern garden must be a simple and practical place for retreat in complete contrast to hectic modern life. As he argued: “we have time for a glance and we comprehend much easier and better than if our eye is distracted by a vulgar riot of colour in annual or perennial beds.”⁴⁵

Strewe’s avid reformist attitude meant that his gardens expressed his predilection for streamlining and minimalism. For example, his design for a Blockhouse Bay garden (1951), infused with Modernist elements such as what Lloyd-Jenkins describes as “a small modernist pavilion”.⁴⁶ The pavilion comprises a partially enclosed curving wall made out of hollow

⁴³ Thompson, p. 31.

⁴⁴ Lloyd-Jenkins, p. 162.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 163.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 162.

stone and embellished with white cement paint.⁴⁷ (Figure 29) An undulating hole is cut out of the stone curving wall which signals an interest in, as Lloyd-Jenkins argues, “the organic sculptural forms of Henry Moore and Hans Arp.”⁴⁸ (Figures 30 and 31) Strewe’s pavilion parallels the sinuous curves in Hans Arp’s (1886-1966) works, such as in *Configuration*, 1951. (Figure 30) The pavilion is connected to a fence which is made in a way to mimic the Japanese gardening tradition of thatched bamboo fences. This incorporates a Japanese aesthetic in the garden, which Strewe aligned with Modernism.

Another Modernist feature on this property is the partially enclosed terrace which can be compared to the structure of a terrace at Bentley Wood, Halland, England. Bentley Wood was the residence of retired Russian immigrant, Serge Chermayeff (1900-1996) who commissioned Canadian Modernist landscape architect Christopher Tunnard (1910-1979) to design the garden.⁴⁹ Tunnard designed the garden as the house was being constructed and worked with Chermayeff to integrate it into the architecture’s aesthetics.⁵⁰ Strewe saw the house in Blockhouse Bay had a similar terrace to the house at Bentley Wood that he had read about in Tunnard’s text, *Gardens In The Modern Landscape* (1938), and decided to create a similar garden.⁵¹ Both terraces are modular, and are unique in that the glass is placed only

⁴⁷ Thompson, p. 13.

⁴⁸ This Blockhouse Bay garden illustrates an inspiration of Henry Moore or Hans Arp. See D. Lloyd-Jenkins, ‘Odo Strewe: Modern Homes, Modern Gardens’ in M. Bradbury, (ed.) *A History Of The Garden In New Zealand*, Auckland, 1995, pp. 162-165. Henry Moore (1898-1986) and Hans Arp (1886-1966) were two of the European Modernists as discussed in Chapter Two. French sculptor, painter and poet, Hans Arp was a founding member of the Dadaists in Zurich in 1916 and later became a Surrealist and an Abstractionist. See R. Hughes, *The Shock Of The New*, New York, 1991, pp. 60-64. Some of his work appears as if it could be a garden plan from a bird’s eye view, for example, *Configuration*, 1951. (Details: Hans Arp, *Configuration*, 1951, lithograph in two colours on rives paper, 565 x 380mm or 22 1/4 x 15 inches, See Figure 30). English artist and sculptor, Henry Moore (1898-1986) was well known for his abstract and biomorphic sculptures. His work, *Recumbent Figure*, 1938, now in the Tate Museum appears as if it is a naturally occurring yet well-formed rock. (Details: Henry Moore, *Recumbent Figure*, 1938, now at the Tate Museum, See Figure 31). See R. Hughes, *The Shock Of The New*, New York, 1991, p. 308.

⁴⁹ J. Waymark, *Modern Garden Design: Innovation Since 1900*, London, 2003, pp. 97-103.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 101-102.

⁵¹ O. Strewe, ‘A Problematic Sloping Garden’ in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 3, August 1951, pp. 32-33.

half way between the terrace floor and the eaves of the house.⁵² The glass allows air to circulate around the terrace, yet protects it from harsh wind. It also allows an unobtrusive view to the garden, and its edging acts as a frame. Henry Moore's (1898-1986) sculpture, *Recumbent Figure*, 1938 (Figure 31) was placed within this frame at Bentley Wood. Strewe imitated that feature by including the Modernist pavilion which alludes to the sinuous shape of Moore's figure in the Blockhouse Bay garden. Strewe also wrote that this terrace is "faithful to the thesis 'form follows function'" in an attempt to align it with Modernism.⁵³

Strewe's reformist attitude was inspired in part by the Tunnard's Modernist theories. According to Lloyd-Jenkins, Tunnard's *Gardens In The Modern Landscape* (1938) inspired many of Strewe's early gardens.⁵⁴ Tunnard's was the first text in England actively to link Modernist art and architecture to garden design.⁵⁵ In this way, Tunnard designed gardens for Modernist architecture, but also wanted to encapsulate the house and garden as one entity. This idea was inspired by the Japanese precedent of linking interior with exterior through the use of new materials and stark lines, as discussed in Chapter Two. Tunnard claimed that "the right style for the twentieth century is no style at all, but a new conception of planning the human environment,"⁵⁶ a parallel to Gropius's sentiments that the future of design is revitalisation which can improve people's lives through tailoring designs for individuals.⁵⁷ Tunnard argued that a modern garden should consider three things: functionality as well aesthetics, the use of art such as sculpture, and finally it should empathise with nature and use

⁵² Waymark, p. 102.

⁵³ O. Strewe, 'A Problematic Sloping Garden' in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 3, August 1951, p. 33.

⁵⁴ Lloyd-Jenkins, p. 162.

⁵⁵ A. Powers, 'Landscape In Britain', M. Treib, *The Architecture Of Landscape 1940-1960*, Philadelphia, 2002, p. 61.

⁵⁶ Waymark, p. 98.

⁵⁷ Lupfer, and Sigel, p. 8 and p. 49.

local materials and resources.⁵⁸ He labelled these points, in Waymark's words, "an 'occult balance' between the designed landscape and nature around it - a quality he admired in Japanese gardens."⁵⁹ In truth, Tunnard wanted to integrate much more than just interiors and exteriors, he wanted to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or a total work of art for the modern world. Strewe followed and advocated Tunnard's theories in New Zealand.

In the early 1950s Strewe became inspired by Japanese gardens.⁶⁰ He adopted elements of what he believed to be representative Japanese gardening traditions and incorporated them into his designs in New Zealand. His interest began in the use of Japanese native plants and trees. In a garden he designed in 1950 in Auckland's suburb of Remuera (Figure 32), Strewe delighted in the planting treatment he completed in a courtyard. He wrote:

A heavy wooden door leads from the private drive into the courtyard.
Close the door and one wouldn't know if Auckland was five or 500
miles away. Our eye perceived the spaciousness of the flag stone terrace
surrounded by white-washed walls, with softly growing creepers,
fan-shaped espalier fruit trees, some tropical plants, a group of junipers,
yew trees and magnolias as contrast... there is one opening left between
the wall and the house and here, embedded in rock chips, we see a lonely
Japanese maple. This is a particularly beautiful specimen, with its pink
stems and yellowish green foliage which gradually change colour during
summer to a deeper shade, finally becoming a fiery orange-scarlet.
Then comes a rounded stretch of lawn planted with two Japanese weeping

⁵⁸ C. Tunnard, *Gardens In The Modern Landscape*, London, 1938, p. 75.

⁵⁹ Waymark, p. 98.

⁶⁰ Lloyd-Jenkins, p. 163.

cherries, *Prunus subhirtella pendula rosea*, which has as a background the black *prunus*. [Japanese black cherry, *prunus serotina*] This then leads to the orchard.⁶¹

Strewe was interested in the form of the courtyard as he believed it was the pinnacle of the idea of creating outdoor rooms as Eckbo espoused.⁶² The courtyard served as a place for a usually exterior element such as the garden to be included in the vocabulary of the interior. The courtyard is an interesting element in landscape architecture's history. Historian Rod Barnett believes that courtyard gardens are derived from California, Italy and Japan.⁶³ Lloyd-Jenkins claims that "[t]he courtyard treatment reveals Strewe's fascination with architecture, when he places a reflecting pond against the wall of the house – revelling in the sensation of a house that appears to grow out of the water."⁶⁴ This garden cannot be simply labelled 'Japanese' purely due to the use of Japanese plants and the courtyard technique. It is how these elements are used which reveals its Japanese sensibility. The plants and rocks are placed in odd numbers, never in pairs or to conform to obvious patterns, so as to appear natural, strategically placed in accordance with traditional Japanese gardening methods. This is coupled with the reflection pool, suggestive of infinity or perpetuity, a common technique used in the Japanese gardening tradition. One example of this can be seen at the Byōdō-in,

⁶¹ O. Strewe, 'A Garden For Relaxation...Not Backache' in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 6, November 1951, p. 61.

⁶² Lloyd-Jenkins, p. 163. The 'outdoor room' or a garden room is an idea favoured by Christopher Tunnard and other Modernists such as Thomas Church (1902-1978), Garrett Eckbo (1910-2000), Bernard Rudofsky (1905-1988), Erick Glemme (1905-1959), Le Corbusier (1887-1965), Sutemi Horiguchi (1895-1984), and Sasaki, Walker & Associates (active 1972-onwards). It is, as Elizabeth Kassler explains, "Introverted, secluded, contained against the wilderness, the outdoor room is the archetypal garden. Even when gardens could safely embrace the far horizon, the amenities of enclosure were never entirely forgotten." Kassler argues an outdoor room is "a roofless room", which had its beginnings as courtyards or as she argues, "The prototype is the inner court – the garden within the house rather than the house within the garden." See E. B. Kassler, *Modern Gardens And The Landscape*, New York, 1964, pp.16-21.

⁶³ R. Barnett, *Garden Style In New Zealand*, Auckland, 1993, 79.

⁶⁴ Lloyd-Jenkins, p. 163. Strewe wrote, "It is a peculiar sensation to see a house grow out of water and must be a throw-back to our lake-dwelling memories." See O. Strewe, 'A Garden For Relaxation...Not Backache' in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 6, November 1951, p. 61.

discussed in Chapter One. The pool in front of the temple reflects the structure and the surrounding vegetation which emphasises the connection between garden and architecture. It is particularly beautiful in autumn when fallen leaves settle on the surface of the water.⁶⁵

As discussed in reference to the Ryōan-ji in Chapter One, one of the most important necessities of historical Japanese gardens is its tranquil atmosphere. Strewe understood this requirement and wrote, “this is what is needed; to be a place of rest, and in its highest form the garden becomes a place of meditation.”⁶⁶ Emphasis on the human relationship with the garden and its effect on its owners were significant to Strewe. As he wrote,

My main concern is with the design and layout of gardens in their relation to human life and habitation. The broad conception of this house-garden relationship has led to a deep interest in functional design. It is not enough to plant trees and make them grow or to study Japanese gardens. Not the guide book kind of “study” which once resulted in wholesale importation into Europe of Japanese tea gardens, but a deeper, national approach involving rationalisation of human needs and awareness of context and environment.⁶⁷

In this statement, Strewe illustrates his knowledge of the occurrence of imitation in garden design in Europe, a process which has unfortunately translated into New Zealand. Aware of this, he urges the reader to avoid simply studying and incorporating Japanese elements into a garden. Echoing Shigemori’s ideas, Strewe argues that one should utilise what they study and

⁶⁵ P. Pregrill, and N. Volkman, *Landscapes In History: Design And Planning In The Eastern And Western Traditions*, Hoboken, New Jersey, 1999, p. 378.

⁶⁶ O. Strewe, ‘A Garden For Relaxation...Not Backache’ in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 6, November 1951, p. 61.

⁶⁷ O. Strewe, ‘Towards A New Landscape’ in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 7, December 1951, p. 35.

interpret it into their own context. He incorporates human requirements into the design process, rather than simply following the oft-travelled route of imitation.

Strewe's interest in Japanese garden design continued in his 1952 garden, 'The Pool of Natural Beauty'. A terraced pool faces a view of the Auckland harbour. The five-sided pool features small areas of plants growing in intervals around it and one large stone projects from the surface which creates the effect of a natural pond. This strategically placed stone was a new addition to Strewe's design oeuvre and was inspired by the Japanese way of setting stones, as discussed in Chapter One. He developed, as Lloyd-Jenkins states, "a reverence for the inanimate object – a perfectly placed boulder or tree."⁶⁸ As Strewe noted, "People have derived great amusement from my antics when placing large stones, but they might be even more amused to know that a Japanese landscape gardener often needs several years to determine how and where to place a single stone!"⁶⁹ Furthermore, the pool was surrounded by what Thompson describes as, "an abstract geometric pattern of areas of white shell, sand and red rock chips, traversed by a Japanese style path of random flat rocks."⁷⁰ The "Japanese style path" described here is a *sō*-style path, one of the Japanese categories of paths, is usually made of flat unhewn rocks placed in an apparently random, casual fashion.⁷¹ The pool and surrounding patterns balance the garden's composition and set a path of sight towards the harbour. The white shells, red rock chips, and rock arrangements appear as a natural occurrence, like sea shells washed up on a beach. The water appears as if it could be a tidal pool, further connecting the garden with the harbour. Perhaps Strewe created this pattern to break from the popular style of the time, the pebble garden. (Figure 34) Pebble gardens

⁶⁸ Lloyd-Jenkins, p. 164.

⁶⁹ O. Strewe, 'Towards A New Landscape' in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 7, December 1951, p. 35.

⁷⁰ Thompson, p. 15.

⁷¹ The Japanese have a categorisation of paths, *shin*, *gyō* and *sō*, which represent, formal, semi-formal and informal arrangements respectively. See M. P. Keane, *Japanese Garden Design*, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 77.

became a popular trend in the 1950s and 1960s in New Zealand in which one placed pebbles over compacted earth and incorporated rocks and plants as features. John P. Salinger traced the lineage of these gardens also back to Japan and to the garden of the Ryōan-ji.⁷² Strewe's design attempts to draw attention to the materials, their relationship to the surroundings and their effect on space, rather than to their pattern. The pattern is Strewe's method of illustrating his interest in the materials utilised and their textural and chromatic potential.

Another compelling design by Strewe was commissioned by Mr. and Mrs. Conyngham for their garden at 11 Selwyn Avenue, Orakei, in 1962. (Figure 33) The architecture on this site is modern and is located on high terrain, looking out to Auckland harbour. Strewe's garden design mirrored the triangular shapes in the surrounding mountains and valleys.⁷³ The triangular pool in this garden is a good example of this principle. The pool was set in a bed of river pebbles and constructed as three stepped and overlapping triangles: one triangle contains water, rocks and waterlilies, one papyrus in water, and the third, taro, *Gunnera* and rushes in water.⁷⁴ By integrating the shapes of the surrounding landscape, this triangular form parallels the traditional Japanese ideal of *shukkei* in which one recreates a landscape feature

⁷² The pebble garden was very popular in New Zealand in the 1950s and 60s. (Figure 34) This type of garden was known to be very practical as it was low in cost and required little maintenance and land, therefore it suited a variety of locations, such as apartment buildings and courtyard gardens. See D. Tannock, *Rock Gardening In New Zealand*, Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin and Wellington, New Zealand, Melbourne and London, 1924, pp. 5-8. The pebble garden was also seen to be aesthetically pleasing as it was non-obtrusive and monochromatic in parallel to many of Auckland's modern houses. John P. Salinger claims in his book, *The New Zealander's Guide To Pebble Gardens* (1971), "One of the latest and most quickly accepted developments is the Pebble Garden, originally called Japanese Garden but now more appropriately called by the former name." See J. P. Salinger, *The New Zealander's Guide To Pebble Gardens*, Auckland and London, 1971, p. 9. The style of 'Japanese Garden' Salinger is referring to is, of course, the *karesansui* garden, discussed in Chapter One. Salinger wrote: "A pebble garden is an area designed to create a landscape in miniature, achieved though the use of suitable plants, the soil being completely covered in stones." See Salinger, p. 9. This mirrors the traditional Japanese idea of *shukkei*, recreating a landscape feature in miniature in a garden. The difference between a pebble garden, as it was conceived of by Salinger, and a *karesansui* garden is the lack to spiritual or religious significance. This is coupled with the fact that Salinger claims "The pebble garden probably stems unconsciously from the scree, a portion of the traditional rock garden." See Salinger, p. 9. "A scree is a slope on an alpine hillside covered in loose coarse rocks where the native plants flourish despite the moving surface. In a rock garden the scree is sparsely set out with those alpine plants that require good drainage." See Salinger, p. 9.

⁷³ Thompson, p. 16.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

in miniature and incorporates it into the garden. The overlapping triangles mirror, as Barnett argues, “Japanese techniques for the disposition of interlocking material planes to create a compositional field that is then intensified through the asymmetrical positioning of plant-objects in arch spatial relationships.”⁷⁵ Again, the emphasis here is on space and the integration of contrasting plants and rocks to create one entity. The idea of developing areas of materials in a planar fashion provides the garden with modern structure whilst incorporating traditional Japanese principles. Shigemori used this idea within his garden at Tofūkū-ji, discussed in Chapter Two, where each of the ‘eight views’ represented were integrated through overlapping elements which were punctuated with contrasting features.

It is interesting to compare the work of Gropius and Stewe. Both were avid Modernists.

Stewe showed this allegiance through his work and writing such as in his article, ‘Towards A New Landscape’, which is in itself an adaptation of Le Corbusier’s *Vers Une L’Architecture* or *Towards A New Architecture*.⁷⁶ They both wanted to use the new ideologies of the Modernist movement to create a new and invigorated design for their own time. In the early twentieth century, the wave of industrialisation and technology seemed cold and inhuman to much of the public.⁷⁷ Gropius also saw the inhumanity of industrialised areas and to offset this, he, and later Stewe, sought to include forms in their designs to which a human

⁷⁵ R. Barnett and J.A., Margetts, ‘Celebrating Ted Smyth: The Emergence Of Modern Space In New Zealand Gardens’ in A. Leach & G. Matthewson (Eds.), *Celebration: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ)*, Napier, September 2005, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁶ O. Stewe, ‘Towards A New Landscape’ in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 7, December 1951, pp. 32-37. He quoted Adolf Loos: “The lower the standard of a people, the more lavish are its ornaments. To find beauty in form, instead of making it depend on ornament, is the goal to which humanity is aspiring.” See O. Stewe, ‘Towards A New Landscape’ in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 7, December 1951, p. 32. In this article, Stewe illustrated his international knowledge in landscape architecture and architecture by citing international examples whilst showing sympathy for New Zealand’s somewhat jaded design foundations. He believed that to achieve a healthy, profitable and futuristic New Zealand, one had to build large residential apartment buildings and one could use the land saved by building vertically not horizontally for public parks and gardens which would surround these large buildings. This would create a healthy and attractive living conditions, both elements of design which Gropius was espousing – design to improve lives. See O. Stewe, ‘Towards A New Landscape’ in *Home And Building*, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 7, December 1951, pp. 32-37.

⁷⁷ M.C. Taylor, *Disfiguring: Art, Architecture, Religion*, Chicago, 1992, p. 210.

could relate.⁷⁸ Both Gropius and Strewe were inspired by the tradition of Japanese gardening and fused aspects of it with elements of the Modernist canon to create an integrated entity which they believed would initiate a future of superior design.⁷⁹ Both espoused the elegance of an uncluttered aesthetic, sharing also a mutual appreciation for interior and exterior integration. Both respected the traditional Japanese design quality of asymmetry, appreciating how designs used that quality and yet were also balanced. Both, finally, were enthusiastic about designing according to the needs of the space.⁸⁰ The use of the space figured prominently in the work of these designers and they each spent a great deal of time carefully planning each part of a design. The fact that Gropius was discovering the elegance of Japanese design and recognising its potential to be adopted internationally at the same time as Strewe began to feature Japanese-inspired elements into his designs is also interesting, as

⁷⁸ One of Gropius's main themes throughout his career was the notion of 'tailorisation' of building construction. This meant a myriad of things. First, it meant stripping away any superfluous elements. Second, it meant tailoring a design to meet the needs of the client. This means the client's needs were paramount. For example, the Masters (Teachers) Residences at the Dessau Bauhaus, made in 1925-26, were made with the teachers in mind. Features like, as Lupfer and Sigel state, "walk in closets, serving hatches, built-in ironing boards and hoses to rinse off dishes" were all designed to for ease of living. Each of Gropius's buildings was designed as such. See Lupfer, and Sigel, p. 8 and p. 49. Similarly with Strewe, he took into account what the client wanted and how the site was oriented. These aspects usually dictated how the resultant garden would appear. For example, when the Wellington Citizen's War Memorial Committee commissioned a World War Two garden from Bill Toomath and himself, he took into account the requests of the committee. He planted five sunken gardens with flowers representing the countries in which the war was fought: Britain, The Middle East, Crete and Greece, and the Pacific. See Thompson, p. 14.

⁷⁹ Gropius was inspired by the Japanese gardening tradition when he visited Japan in 1955. He subsequently wrote an article, 'Architecture In Japan', analysing his visit and the Japanese architectural and gardening tradition. Aspects of Japanese design can be seen in his Interbau apartment block in Hansaviertel, West Berlin, 1955-57. Strewe was inspired by the Japanese gardening tradition through his appreciation for landscape architects, Christopher Tunnard (1910-79), Thomas Church (1902-1978), and Garrett Eckbo (1910-2000). He subsequently designed many gardens featuring aspects illustrating this inspiration such as the garden entitled 'The Pool of Natural Beauty' and Mr. and Mrs. Conyngham's Orakei garden, and wrote articles about both. See Thompson, pp. 15-16.

⁸⁰ Gropius delighted over the Japanese tendency to integrate interior and exterior whilst still creating an uncluttered, balanced and asymmetrical design. He wrote in 'Architecture In Japan', "They represented a still-living culture which in the past had already found the answer to many of our modern requirements of simplicity, of outdoor-indoor relations, of modular coordination, and at the same time, variety of expression, resulting in a common form language uniting all individual efforts..." See Gropius, 1955, p. 11. Strewe meanwhile was enthusiastic about Japanese features like enclosed courtyard gardens, reflection pools, Japanese style paths, and as Lloyd-Jenkins states, Strewe developed, "a reverence for the inanimate object – a perfectly placed boulder or tree" (See Lloyd-Jenkins, p. 164.) which parallels the Japanese gardening tradition's concept of *kowan-ni-shitagau* or 'to follow the request [of the stone]'. He also became interested in integrating the interior and exterior as in his 1960s plans, the rooms of the house were included to get a sense of the garden in relation to the house. See Thompson, p. 32. All these aspects of the Japanese gardening tradition which Strewe utilised relate to the balance and composition of a garden. By utilising these aspects, Strewe created non-cluttered, balanced gardens which integrated exterior and interior and considered the needs of space.

their enthusiasm for the conceptual possibilities of Japanese design was developing in the same timeframe.

Strewe's gardens were inspired by Japanese gardening traditions, yet they were never complete Japanese gardens. Strewe took elements of Japanese design and incorporated them into his garden designs because it fit with his Modernist ethos. He was certainly an innovative Modernist master in New Zealand due to its relatively naïve position in the world, yet his ideas and innovations were clearly taking their cues from European and American Modernism. Some critics claim that Strewe's designs lacked originality and that Modernism was already being integrated within New Zealand life regardless of Strewe.⁸¹ Indeed, it can be said that Strewe was simply following the earlier Modernists lead when he incorporated Japanese-inspired aspects into his gardens. However, according to Thompson, "Odo Strewe remains the founding father of modern garden design in [New Zealand]."⁸² Lloyd-Jenkins even credits Strewe with New Zealand's preference for wax-leafed plants and the use of bamboo, taro and flaxes in abstract arrangements in gardens. Strewe's involvement in New Zealand landscape architecture also provided a source of innovation, inspiration and change in the New Zealand gardening market, one shaped in part by his interest in the Japanese gardening tradition. As Lloyd-Jenkins concludes, "[t]he gardens of Odo Strewe and his followers had by the 1970s revolutionised the appearance of Auckland, particularly that of its affluent northern suburbs... a Strewe garden could be as spare and conceptual as any of the work of the nation's abstract painters and sculptors."⁸³ Having analysed Odo Strewe's contribution to New Zealand's private gardens, I move forward in time to examine individual private gardens inspired by the Japanese gardening tradition produced in New Zealand after 1970.

⁸¹ Thompson, p. 33.

⁸² Ibid., p. 33.

⁸³ Lloyd-Jenkins, pp. 164-165.

(iv) New Zealand Garden Design After Modernism

From the 1970s to 2000, eclecticism characterised New Zealand garden design. The transition to the new Post-Modernist forms of landscape architecture saw a progressive rejection of traditional gardening techniques, plantings, arrangements and styles. The attitude towards the garden as a purely horticultural entity disappeared and was replaced with a space for contemplation, leisure, recreation or art. This change in gardens represents a corresponding transition in society. The New Zealand public expressed increased interest in arts and leisure which spurred the emergence of more public gardens for recreation. The wartime preoccupation with production had also disappeared and was now replaced with an emphasis on importing and exporting foods and wares. Inspiration and innovation were no longer held in suspicion by the public and increasingly welcomed. Barnett reaffirms, in New Zealand “there are many gardens, a plurality of practices, discourses, and productions within the growing subculture of the garden.”⁸⁴ This is due, Barnett argues, to a whimsical and eclectic Post-Modern attitude to life.⁸⁵ This attitude could explain the sense of diversity and innovation in New Zealand’s gardens. In sum, pluralism, diversification and eclecticism came to characterise New Zealand’s gardens, art and architecture of the late twentieth century.⁸⁶

Elements of Japanese-inspired gardening remained one of New Zealand’s most popular

⁸⁴ Barnett in Bradbury, 1995, p. 173.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 173. Post-Modernism is characterised by its emphasis on whimsical or playful decoration which are usually overt references to other buildings or designs. Formal or functional elements of architectural structure are secondary. Due to its association with Modernism, Post-Modernism has negated the sincerity of Modernism’s goals, discussed in Chapter Two. Post-Modernism has reinvigorated the idea of creating new art, gardens and architecture with reference to traditional forms, such as gardens of Japanese inspiration. Post-Modernism has therefore created the conceptual atmosphere to create art whilst appropriating from past sources. See F.S. Kleiner, *Gardner’s Art Through The Ages: A Global History*, Andover, 2008, p. 1008.

⁸⁶ Barnett in Bradbury, 1995, p. 173. Barnett argues the catalyst for the change in gardens came in the preference for the pebble garden changing to what Barnett calls, “1970s ‘natural’ gardens”. (See Barnett in Bradbury, 1995, p. 175.) Barnett claims, “The pebble garden had been the modern gardenesque: interesting (or formally striking) plants isolated in fields of red and white scoria – the plant as object, the garden indifferent to ecological or naturalistic concerns. Natural gardens were characterised by the use of indigenous plants.” (See Barnett in Bradbury, 1995, p. 175.) As Barnett indicates, the pebble garden is a rather architectural phenomenon, an artificial and natural low-maintenance space which controls nature by suppressing weed cultivation. However, there was no prerequisite for a pebble garden to have exotic plants within them rather than the indigenous plants upon which Barnett defines the ‘natural garden’. Granted, exotics were in vogue in the 1950s and 1960s, however a New Zealand native planting could have been included in many of New Zealand’s pebble gardens with successful effects.

trends in landscape architecture. A number of guidebooks and manuals were published in New Zealand on the art of making gardens in the Japanese tradition, for instance Sima Eliovson's *Gardening The Japanese Way*. This 215-page book was published by A. H. & A.W. Reed in Auckland in 1970. To produce a book of such a substantial size on such an unusual topic indicates there was a market for such manuals and for the gardens themselves at this time in New Zealand.⁸⁷ These types of publications help explain the increased numbers of Japanese-inspired gardens being created in New Zealand at this time.

(v) New Zealand's Private Japanese-Inspired Gardens

Since the 1970s, more gardens inspired by the Japanese tradition appeared in New Zealand. This was due to a variety of reasons. Landscape architects, such as Strewe, who designed private Japanese gardens, and manuals such as Eliovson's certainly assisted in this increase alongside the playful attitude associated with the Post-Modernism. The popularity, increased numbers of services, improved comfort and lifted visa restrictions of the modes of travel to Japan may also have assisted in this increase.⁸⁸ But perhaps it was the ideals of Japanese gardens which appealed to the New Zealand populace who made their own antipodean interpretations of the Japanese gardening tradition. Two gardens are representative of this wave of New Zealand's private gardens of Japanese inspiration. These are Tony Downes and

⁸⁷ See S. Eliovson, *Gardening The Japanese Way*, Wellington, Auckland, Sydney and Melbourne, 1970. Yoshinobu Yoshinaga's *Composition And Expression In Japanese Tradition Gardens*, Shōkoku-sha Publishing Company, Tokyo, 1962, was also available in New Zealand as it was owned by New Zealand-based landscape architect, Ted Smyth who was a labourer for Odo Strewe early in his career. See R. Barnett and J.A., Margetts, 'Celebrating Ted Smyth: The Emergence Of Modern Space In New Zealand Gardens' in A. Leach & G. Matthewson (Eds.), *Celebration: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ)*, Napier, September 2005, pp. 35-40.

⁸⁸ G. Guermanoff and T. Beal in 'The NZ-Japan Relationship: Past Successes, Future Challenges', state, "In 1970 the governments of Japan and of New Zealand entered into a visa-free travel arrangement between the two countries. This originally allowed 30 days visa-free travel but was extended to 3 months in January 1996. In 1980 the signing of the Direct Services Agreement between Japan and New Zealand opened the way for direct flights between Auckland and Tokyo. This was only the beginning. 1990 saw the establishment of joint services from Nagoya, and in 1992, Air New Zealand gained access to Kansai Airport. More recently, in 1995, Japan and New Zealand negotiated an agreement for direct flights between Auckland and Fukuoka." Full text: http://www.vuw.ac.nz/~caplabtb/nz_japan.html

Sam Beveridge's garden in Christchurch, created in 1985, and Robin and Bryan Rive's garden in Auckland, created in 1987. (Figures 35, 36 and 37) Each of these couples admired Japanese style, culture, art, design and gardens and had all travelled to Japan which solidified their enthusiasm. Each researched the Japanese gardening tradition by reading texts such as Eliovson's to create their own piece of Japan in New Zealand.

Beveridge and Downes designed and constructed their Japanese-inspired garden themselves. They chose to name the garden 'Shigeki' after Shigeki Mino, a council official of Christchurch's sister city Kurashiki, who stayed with them whilst visiting Christchurch.⁸⁹ When they discovered, as Deborah Telford states, "Shigeki's name meant 'Tall trees growing, many planes', they settled on the name Shigeki Gardens."⁹⁰ Shigeki Gardens were made out of admiration of Japan and its culture, arts, gardens and architecture. Downes had worked at Christchurch's Zenith Nurseries since he was 15 years old. There he developed an interest in Japanese plants, prompting his visit to Japan.⁹¹ In Japan he became interested in, as he explains, "the Japanese idea of the garden being a vehicle to complement lifestyle and religion."⁹² Downes interest in religion is significant as this is noticeably absent from the other New Zealand examples. The only other religious features in New Zealand's Japanese gardens are Shintō *torii*, sacred gateways usually placed at the entrance of a shrine, which shall be discussed later. This lack of spiritual or religious emphasis illustrates a divergence between the traditional gardens discussed in Chapter One and these translated gardens. Downes and Beveridge were also, as Adrienne Rewi explains, "fascinated by the ability of Japanese gardeners to capture nature and all its moods and variations."⁹³ To capture nature's atmosphere became their goal. As discussed in Chapter One, in the Japanese gardening

⁸⁹ D. Telford, 'Japanese Landscape' in *Next*, Auckland, no. 41, July 1994, p. 114.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

⁹³ A. Rewi, 'Japanese Serenity' in *New Zealand Gardener*, Auckland, vol. 83, September 1993, p. 32.

tradition this is called *fuzei* which captures a certain place or natural feature's atmosphere. To achieve this goal, Downes said,

[s]implicity and balance can't be emphasised enough,... And you have to be careful not to pair things... you wouldn't have four rocks in a group for instance, you'd have three or five. A square-trimmed bush beside a group of rounded shaped bushes will accent one against the other, and then, towering above that, you might have a wired, shaped pine marking a separate statement.⁹⁴

Their garden is hidden by a tall peripheral fence. The visitor is presented with a choice of five paths when entering the garden. As Downes explains, "The garden has been designed to make people take their time walking through it; so by offering so many entry options you tend to confuse them and make them stop and look. It is totally unexpected for most people and watching their expressions is fascinating."⁹⁵ In this way, Shigeki gardens was based upon the design techniques which flourished in the Edo period, the stroll garden.

When walking down the first of the five paths, the visitor is presented with a courtyard garden covered in Japanese Wisteria (*Wisteria floribunda*) and Japanese Camellia (*Camellia japonica*). This indicates the parameters of the original size of the garden. The rest of the garden was made on land acquired from several of the neighbouring properties. A contractor dug the south section of the garden to make an artificial stream, a few ponds and also placed large rocks. A nineteenth-century Japanese water-wheel delivers water from the stream to the ponds and then a pump recycles the water for the process to begin again creating a stream

⁹⁴ Rewi, 1993, p. 34.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

effect.⁹⁶ (Figure 35) To define the stream and ponds, Downes planted “Lush groupings of ferns, irises, trilliums, maples and hostas [to] line the banks, while magnolias, pines and giant gunnera edge the main pond.”⁹⁷ The second path leads to the south fence where an archway was created by Japanese Birch trees (*Betula mandschurica* var. *japonica*) and New Zealand ferns (*Cyathea dealbata*) whilst the third path is flanked by New Zealand Native Lacebark (*Plagianthus lyallii*). The fourth path leads between large rocks to soft hillocks of New Zealand Alpine Moss (*Scleranthus uniflorus*) which grow underneath Japanese Maples (*Acer palmatum*) and Japanese Peonies (*Paeonia japonica*). Downes has endeavoured to include as many Japanese plants as possible which dominate the garden, but found New Zealand plants added variety.

The fifth path, leading to the *karesansui* garden, creates a sense of dramatic tension due to its stark contrast with the waterway. As discussed in Chapter One, *karesansui* gardens come in many forms yet always comprise two inalienable features, gravel or sand and rocks. The *karesansui* garden curves in an organic sinuous fashion and meets with the edge of the pond, as if this section of the pond has suddenly dried up for some unknown reason. (Figure 35) As discussed in Chapter Two, Shigemori had a predilection for *karesansui* gardens, and in particular, *suhami* (‘dry shoreline’) formations, comparable to *karedaki* (‘dry cascade’ or ‘dry waterfall’) in traditional gardens, such as Saihō-ji’s Upper Garden, discussed in Chapter One. When excavating the Saga-no-in, the estate to which Emperor Saga (786-842) retired in 823, Shigemori found an ancient pond. The pond is now called Osawa-ike and is situated in Daikaku-ji. On the north bank of the pond he found what he assumed to be a *karedaki*. However, on further examination he concluded that water never flowed through this cascade,

⁹⁶ Telford, p. 112.

⁹⁷ Rewi, 1993, p. 34.

“but was built from the beginning as a ‘dry cascade’”.⁹⁸ Art historian Loraine Kuck surmises that,

Such cascades look as if the water had temporarily dried up but will resume flowing after the next rain. The effect is gained by the graphic arrangement of the stones. The style was used when there was no source of flowing water. Until this example was discovered it was not realised that Japan might have utilised the dry technique so early. It suggests also that China might have furnished the prototype, something not hitherto considered.⁹⁹

Downes and Beveridge’s *karesansui* garden may be more accurately called a ‘dry cascade’ and thus contains a feature of traditional Japanese garden design which extends back to the ninth century.

Downes directed the garden towards the white neighbouring houses which, he felt, could “represent a snow-covered mountain”.¹⁰⁰ This illustrates the adaptability of the ideas espoused in techniques such as *shakkei*, incorporating the surrounding scenery into a garden. The creative and innovative ways of using traditional elements of Japanese gardens such as the *shakkei* technique and the dry cascade illustrate the inventiveness of the garden designers and their translation of Japanese gardening techniques into a new context. As Rewi explains, “In creating Shigeki Gardens Tony has been as true as possible to traditional Japanese style. In the early stages of development he read every book he could find on Japanese gardens and

⁹⁸ Kuck, 1968, p. 81.

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

¹⁰⁰ Rewi, 1993, pp. 33-34.

acquired videos from the Japanese Consulate.”¹⁰¹ However, echoing Shigemori’s beliefs, Downes said “it doesn’t matter how many different gardens you see, or how many books you read, I don’t believe you can ever copy something else. You have to take on your own interpretation and design your own space.”¹⁰² The use of traditional features of Japanese garden design in new and interesting ways is the most successful aspect of Downes and Severidge’s Japanese garden. The Shigeki gardens are an important example of Japanese inspiration being incorporated into a garden, yet other Japanese garden enthusiasts have also incorporated this influence into the architecture of their house.

Robin and Bryan Rives constructed a Japanese house and garden based on the principles of *sukiya zukuri* (*sukiya* construction).¹⁰³ (Figure 36) *Sukiya zukuri* was a style of architecture which became popular in the Edo period (1615-1867), particularly with *samurai* and *daimyō* residences. The style is characterised by its simplicity and use of natural materials, and is derived from the appearance of the teahouse.¹⁰⁴ (Figure 26) A teahouse was usually comprised of *tatami* mats (woven floor mats), a hearth, and a *tokonoma* (alcove). The teahouse itself and the *tokonoma* were simple structures, left to appear ‘natural’ as possible often by using un-stripped bark, *menkawa*, in their constructions.¹⁰⁵ Wood such as Japanese cypress, cedar, hemlock and pine was traditionally used as structural material around the earthen exterior walls and interior *shoji* panels.¹⁰⁶ This style was also inspired by an

¹⁰¹ A. Rewi, ‘Tony Downes’ in A. Rewi, *Private Views: Conversations With New Zealand Gardeners*, Christchurch, 1996, pp. 38-43.

¹⁰² Rewi, 1993, p. 34.

¹⁰³ S. Newey, ‘A Yen For Zen’ in *New Zealand Gardener*, Auckland, vol. 57, May 2001, p. 81.

¹⁰⁴ N. Seiroku, *The Arts Of Japan: Late Medieval To Modern*, Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco, 2003, p. 111.

¹⁰⁵ JAANUS Listing of ‘*sukiya zukuri*’, <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/sukiyazukuri.htm>.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

increasing sense of cultural freedom in the arts of the Edo period.¹⁰⁷ The Rives' house and garden are arranged in this style.

The Rives employed a Japanese craftsman to construct their house and garden. The craftsman had completed an apprenticeship renovating Japanese temples, and built the house and garden using traditional Japanese architectural methods, using no nails or metal and substituting *sago* palm imported from Japan.¹⁰⁸ The materials used in the house were experimental. The exterior wall treatment finish comprised, as Sharon Newey explains, "eight ingredients and clays...applied in three thin layers using very small plastering trowels."¹⁰⁹ The *engawa* of the Rives residence illustrates the subtle integration of interior and exterior space. Peeled and polished Japanese cedar logs support the *engawa* marquee and are also placed at the entrance of the garden. As Newey explains, "Traditionally peeled by the women of Japan only, and polished with rice straw and fine sand, the poles used at the Rives were part of a research project to assess their export potential."¹¹⁰ The Japanese cedar logs used in the construction of the house mimic the Japanese cedars and other similar trees growing in the garden. These logs are natural in appearance; their natural curves are polished to create an earthy hue.

The Rives' pond is encircled with moss-covered rocks and bamboo. (Figure 36) The rocks were found in Clevedon, south of Auckland, and were, according to Newey, "wrapped in protective blankets, craned on site and manhandled into place by a football team."¹¹¹

Sourcing the rocks from Clevedon is in line with a principle of traditional Japanese garden design, that it is best to source rocks from the local area to guarantee their suitability to their new surroundings. Paths wind around the property and are lined with vegetation and Japanese

¹⁰⁷ JAANUS Listing of 'sukiya zukuri', <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/sukiyazukuri.htm>.

¹⁰⁸ Newey, p. 81.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 84.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 84.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 82.

lanterns, which the Rives collected on visits to Japan.¹¹² As Newey explains, “The rock-edged pond is lined with a dark-tinted concrete and pebbles to give an added sense of depth.”¹¹³ The pond is fed by a waterfall in one corner of the garden. There is also a basin at the entrance of the garden which was made out of a square of aged granite.¹¹⁴ Two other pieces of granite form a bridge whose philosophy was, as Newey explains, “if you are chased by the devil, he will become confused and fall off the bridge.”¹¹⁵ Like Downes and Beveridge, the Rives use the tree-lined valley next to their section to create the *shakkei* technique in their garden.¹¹⁶

The Rives’ garden is home to an impressive range of Japanese native plants.¹¹⁷ A semi-mature New Zealand native Kauri (*Agathis australis*) and a New Zealand Oak (*Alectryon excelsus* ‘Titoki’), alongside the groundcovers, Baby’s Tears (*Soleirolia soleirolii*) and Sphagnum Moss (*Sphagnum affine*), represent the only plants in their garden not native to Japan. Newey claims that these New Zealand natives “suit the garden style”¹¹⁸ and to include them is an innovation, representing a hybridisation of the two cultures and styles. (Figure 37) New Zealand native moss and Japanese Moso bamboo are encouraged to grow alongside each other in the garden as they give the garden an aged aesthetic, an important component in the Japanese gardening tradition. A garden within this tradition would have been pruned and

¹¹² Newey, p. 84.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 83.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 83-84.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 84.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 84.

¹¹⁷ The Rives incorporated many Japanese plants including: Moso Bamboo (*Phyllostachys pubescens*), Japanese Maples (*Acer palmatum* ‘Osakazuki’), Japanese Red Pine (*Pinus densiflora*), Japanese Black Pine (*Pinus thunbergii*), Tagyosho pine (*Pinus densiflora* ‘Umbraculifera’), Japanese Ginkgo (*Ginkgo biloba*), White-flowering Azalea (*Rhododendron occidentale* ‘Magnifica’), Japanese Lady Ferns (*Lunathyrium japonicum*), Japanese Lily of the Valley (*Pieris japonica*), Falling Snow Weeping Cherries (*Prunus Snofozam* ‘Snow Fountains’), Japanese Wisteria (*Wisteria floribunda*), Red Flowering Japanese Dogwood (*Cornus kousa* ‘Beni Fuji’), Japanese Camellia (*Camellia japonica*), Weeping Mulberry (*Morus alba* ‘Pendula’), Japanese Boxwood (*Buxus microphylla*), Japanese irises (*Iris kaempferi*), Sacred Bamboo (*Nandina domestica*), Mondo Grass (*Ophiopogon japonica*), many types of Japanese Hosta. See Newey, pp. 82-84.

¹¹⁸ Newey, p. 82.

maintained, suspended in stasis. The trees within the Rives' garden are pruned twice a year.¹¹⁹ "To keep the garden in proportion," Newey states, "plants sometimes need replacing with younger specimens."¹²⁰ Pesticide was also avoided, "not only because they prefer an organic approach, but also because pesticide drift can kill the moss on the trees and rocks."¹²¹ The large number of Japanese plants in the Rives' garden is a testament to the adaptability of Japanese plants to the New Zealand climate and their availability in a globalised world. Combined with elements of Japanese design and principles, the Rives' garden demonstrates at the same time the popularity of traditional Japanese elements in architecture and gardening and their adaptation and translation into a new cultural setting.¹²²

(vi) New Zealand's Public Japanese-Inspired Gardens

The 1990s signalled a new direction in Japanese-inspired gardens in New Zealand through the construction of public gardens. The reasons for this new trend lie in part with the increased significance of Sister Cities in recent times and the enthusiastic response of a number of local and city councils to Japanese design concepts. Most of the public Japanese gardens found in New Zealand are constructed as a symbol of the connection between New Zealand's cities and their sister cities in Japan. The concept of the Sister City arose in 1920 as a reaction to the horrors of World War I when Keighley, West Yorkshire, England and Pont-du-Nord, France, became the first Sister Cities.¹²³ The goal was the promotion of cultural and commercial connections between the two cities in an effort to bridge national boundaries.

¹¹⁹ Newey, p. 82.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 83.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 83.

¹²² J. Beattie, 'Growing Chinese Influences In New Zealand: Chinese Gardens, Identity And Meaning', in *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, Auckland, Vol. 9, No. 1, June 2007, pp. 38-61. In this article, Beattie argues, "the idea of translation, in which an idea or object's meaning becomes re-interpreted and re-contextualised in a new setting, is a useful way of conceptualising the development of gardens in New Zealand and China." See J. Beattie, 'Growing Chinese Influences In New Zealand: Chinese Gardens, Identity And Meaning', in *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, Auckland, Vol. 9, No. 1, June 2007, p. 39. The same is true of the relationship between the translation of New Zealand's Japanese-inspired gardens.

¹²³ M. Leonard, *Politics Without Frontiers: The Role Of Political Parties In Europe's Future*, London, 1997, p. 34.

Hamilton Garden's Japanese Garden symbolises the relationship between Hamilton and Urawa, and the Japanese Garden in the Auckland Zoo symbolises that between Auckland and Fukuoka. Others include the Miyazu Garden in Nelson which symbolises the relationship between Nelson and Miyazu and the Japanese garden at the Waitakere City Council which represents the relationship between Waitakere City and Kakogawa.

Why was the connection between these Sister Cities cemented with a Japanese garden?¹²⁴ As these public gardens were conceived almost entirely by local councils, they held the control of their creations. Perhaps Japanese gardens appealed to New Zealand designers as the quintessential expression of Japan, being traditional yet adaptable enough to endure in new countries, climates and innovations. A garden of the Japanese tradition made in New Zealand could also reflect the history of Japanese migration to New Zealand.¹²⁵ In this way, a

¹²⁴ Each of the aforementioned New Zealand Japanese gardens was constructed as a symbol of the connection between two Sister Cities. Each of the cities involved provided features for the garden, manpower, skilled craftsmen or financial assistance to create the gardens. The Hamilton Gardens project had two Japanese stone-setters from Urawa to help with arrangement of the *karesansui* garden. The Auckland Zoo project had a team of five skilled men from Japan working alongside the Zoo staff. See Thodey, pp. 32-33. Meanwhile on its opening day, a delegation from Miyazu helped to construct and insert their gift to Nelson which was, as Linda Hallinan states, "a pergola and planted it with wisteria..." See L. Hallinan, 'From Rubbish To Reflections' in *New Zealand Gardener*, Auckland, June 1999, v. 55, p. 34. The Waitakere City Council project was a gift from Kakogawa, Japan. It was then constructed firstly in the former Waitakere Civic Centre buildings at 6 Waipareira Avenue, Lincoln, Waitakere City in February 1997, but was moved in 2006 to the new Waitakere Civic Centre offices at 6 Henderson Valley Road, Henderson. The Japanese garden was designed by Elly Maejima, a Japanese garden designer working in Auckland. Maejima designed the garden and then translated her designs into Japanese for the approval of Mayor of Kakogawa City, Mr. Tarumoto, the former Mayor Mr Kinoshita and Mr Hisashi Tamagawa whom had already visited Auckland in February 2005 and approved the new site of the gardens in Henderson. See Lambert, Renee, *Projects Special Committee Agenda*, Wednesday 17th August 2005, Waitakere City Council, Waitakere, New Zealand, August 2005, pp. 2-6.

¹²⁵ Beattie suggests this idea of a Chinese garden being a reflection of the historical migration of Chinese to New Zealand. See Beattie, pp. 47-48. For example, Chinese gold-miners migrated to the Otago area in 1860s, and this could give reasoning to the fact there is now a Lan Yuan Chinese Garden in Dunedin. See Beattie, pp. 47-48. Beattie states, "In the case of Dunedin's garden, direct connections and recognition of the ties between China and New Zealand's Chinese community are particularly significant affirmations of the on-going relationship between Chinese New Zealander's and China itself. Hence particular emphasis in Dunedin has been placed upon the garden as offering a tangible sign of the contribution and hardships faced by the first wave of Chinese migration to the Otago province in the nineteenth century." See Beattie, p. 49. The numbers of Japanese tourists visiting New Zealand since the 1970s have increased exponentially. As G. Guermanoff and T. Beal in 'The NZ-Japan Relationship: Past Successes, Future Challenges', state, "Visitors from Japan grew 24-fold over the period 1973-93, from 5,400 to 131,100 and reached 146,316 in 1995." Japanese immigration to New Zealand follows this pattern with a steady increase of Japanese registering as New Zealanders every year since 1987. See G. Guermanoff and T. Beal 'The NZ-Japan Relationship: Past Successes, Future Challenges', http://www.vuw.ac.nz/~caplabtb/nz_japan.html

Japanese-inspired garden in New Zealand could symbolise ‘Japaneseness’ in New Zealand.¹²⁶

The Japanese gardens of New Zealand, therefore, stand as symbols of many things such as the translation and re-interpretation of the Japanese gardening tradition, the hybridisation of New Zealand and Japanese aesthetics, vegetation and ideas as well as the relationship between Japan and New Zealand’s Sister Cities, or in other words ‘soft diplomacy’.

(vii) Hamilton Gardens’ Japanese Garden

The Hamilton Gardens is home to one of New Zealand’s premier public Japanese gardens.

(Figure 38) In the early 1950s, a provision was made for an area of land in Hamilton to be transformed into a garden or park.¹²⁷ The land was originally used as a cemetery, a rifle range and for recreation as well as an East Town Belt domain.¹²⁸ The objective of the Hamilton Gardens is “[t]o provide a garden visitor attraction and events venue that is highly valued for enhancing the quality of life of Hamilton’s residents and the city’s image.”¹²⁹ The Japanese garden in the 58 hectare¹³⁰ Hamilton Gardens complex was opened on 15th April 1997 as part of the Paradise Collection of gardens and is called the Japanese Garden of Contemplation.¹³¹ The Paradise Collection is a group of gardens which, according to their designer Peter Sergel, “illustrate the gardener’s desire to create paradise on Earth.”¹³² The Paradise Collection at the Hamilton Gardens aims to reproduce a flavour of significant designs from around the world.

As such it includes the Japanese Garden of Contemplation, the Chinese Scholar’s Garden, the

¹²⁶ Beattie, p. 50. Beattie raises this point in reference to Chinese gardens representing ‘Chineseness’ in New Zealand.

¹²⁷ Hamilton City Council, *Hamilton Gardens Draft Management Plan: Second Review*, Hamilton, New Zealand, December 15th 1999, p. 1. Also see Hamilton (N.Z.) Department of Recreation And Welfare, *Hamilton Gardens Management Plan*, Hamilton, New Zealand, 1983, p. 3.

¹²⁸ Hamilton City Council, *Hamilton Gardens Draft Management Plan: Second Review*, Hamilton, New Zealand, December 15th 1999, p. 1.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 1.

¹³⁰ Hamilton (N.Z.) Department of Recreation And Welfare, *Hamilton Gardens Management Plan*, Hamilton, New Zealand, 1983, p. 1.

¹³¹ Author Unknown, ‘Garden Plans Brought To Fruition’, *Waikato Times*, 15th April 1997, Edition 2, p. 1.

¹³² J. Jamieson, ‘Hamilton Gardens’, New Zealand’s Gardens To Visit Website, <http://www.gardenstovisit.co.nz/garden.aspx?gardenid=146>

Indian Char Bagh Garden, the Italian Renaissance Garden, the American Modernist Garden, and the English Flower Garden. Hamilton Gardens' Japanese garden has a clear and concise overall plan which is executed masterfully with elegance and restrained beauty. Although designed and built in New Zealand, it is representative of the skill and knowledge associated with Japanese-inspired garden-making beyond Japan.

The Japanese garden in the Hamilton Gardens was constructed between 1995 and 1997 by workers in the then government-funded programme, Project Employment Labour (PEP). Tradesman and stonemason Jack Jordan supervised the project; Peter Sergel, Mark De Lisle and Michael Morris designed the Japanese garden.¹³³ The Japanese Garden Trust was created to raise the funds required for its construction. Peter Sergel wrote: "The trust raised about \$280,000 for the Japanese Garden, oversaw its development, and organised several cultural events."¹³⁴ This large contribution was coupled with government and council donations or subsidies, alongside local businesses' and Japanese cultural groups' contributions.¹³⁵

The visitor enters the Japanese garden at Hamilton Gardens through a paved courtyard, which also provides entrances to the other Paradise Collection gardens. The two metre tall New Zealand native Totara hedge (*Podocarpus totara*) is interrupted to form a portal through which the visitor enters the Japanese area. An intricately designed *gyō*-style path leads into a forested glade.¹³⁶ This pathway, the Sweet Osmanthus Walk (*Osmanthus fragrans*), was

¹³³ Peter Sergel is now the Director of Hamilton Gardens. Mark De Lisle is an architect and designer working as half of De Lisle Jenkins Architects, located in Hamilton. Michael Morris is a Zoologist with an extensive knowledge of the New Zealand environment, agriculture, horticulture and botany. Morris is now a lecturer at the Bay of Plenty Polytechnic, located in Tauranga.

¹³⁴ P. Sergel, 'In Hamilton Gardens', *Waikato Times*, 7th August 1998, Edition 1, p. 13.

¹³⁵ Author Unknown, 'Garden Plans Brought To Fruition', *Waikato Times*, 15th April 1997, Edition 2, p. 1.

¹³⁶ *Gyō*, or semi-formal, refers to the path being made up of flat natural stones which are integrated like a mosaic to form a straight-edged path.

named after the official plant of Urawa, Hamilton's Japanese Sister City.¹³⁷ The path represents the Edo period stroll garden of the Japanese gardening tradition, discussed in Chapter One. On each side are trees, including a Japanese Umbrella Pine (*Sciadopitys verticillata*) and a Japanese Loquat (*Eriobotrya japonica*), with shrubs planted beside them such as the Camellia (*Camellia japonica*). The ground on each side of the path is planted in the native New Zealand Alpine Moss (*Scleranthus Biflorus*). On the left of the path, the meticulously pruned Japanese Umbrella Pine has its branches gnarled by metal wire to train them to grow in the Japanese style. (Figure 38) Beneath the pine tree is a stone *yukimi-gata* or 'Snow-viewing' lantern.¹³⁸ This lantern was imported from Japan along with the stones used in this garden.

There are also many references to Japan's native religion in this walkway. This is significant as religious or spiritual features are, as previously discussed, noticeably absent from New Zealand's Japanese gardens. The pathway is flanked by rope fences which appear as *shimenawa*, a traditional Shintō rope used to indicate a sacred place. This rope also delineates an area of non-public entry. At the end of the path is a *torii*, a gateway which indicates a sacred place and is usually situated at the entrance to a Shintō shrine. The *torii* at the Hamilton Gardens is a traditional gateway utilising only four pieces of wood: two vertical pieces on each side of the path and two horizontal pieces inserted parallel to each other at the top of the verticals. It is flanked by two ochre latticed panels. The visitor enters through the covered *torii* into a paved area complete with an ornately carved waiting arbour.

Commemorative plaques adorn the white plaster wall on the left-hand side which punctuates

¹³⁷ Author Unknown, 'Garden Offers Traditional Slice Of Japan', *Waikato Times*, 15th April 1997, Edition 2, p. 10.

¹³⁸ A *Yukimi-gata* or 'Snow viewing' lantern is the most popular of the many types of traditional Japanese lantern. It is usually placed near a water source or at the side of a path. It is called a 'snow-viewing' lantern due to its large roof which can be delicately covered in snow. When the snow is touched by light, soft reflections off the snow are created. See K. Seike, and M. Kudō, and D. H. Engel, *A Japanese Touch For Your Garden*, Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco, 1983, p.50.

the continuing hedges on the other sides. Underneath the hedges is a plant known as, among other names, Baby's Tears (*Soleirolia soleirolii*). The visitor follows the hedge to an opening which allows a view into the *karesansui* garden.

The *karesansui* garden is inspired by the Muromachi period (1333-1573) *karesansui* gardens, discussed in Chapter One. The cream-coloured gravel is raked in flowing circular patterns to emulate ocean currents whilst the rocks represent islands. The two trees in the *karesansui* garden are Japanese maples (*Acer palmatum*) and the shrubs are Japanese Spindle Trees (*Euonymus japonica*), whilst the groundcover is another type of New Zealand Alpine Moss (*Scleranthus uniflorus*). (Figure 38) The plants represent the abundance of life on the islands signified by the rock arrangements. The rocks in the garden were set by two Japanese gardeners from Hamilton's Japanese Sister City, Urawa,¹³⁹ who arranged the rocks according to the ancient Japanese traditions as set out by the *Sakuteiki*. Religious significance is absent from this *karesansui* garden. Despite his religious devotion, Shigemori foresaw this occurrence, as Tschumi wrote,

Shigemori saw no apparent reason why the *karesansui* gardens need to be restricted to a religious context only. Quite the contrary, actually; he recognized and used the great potential for abstraction inherent in this garden style as an ideal paradigm for modernized residential gardens in the second half of the twentieth-century Japan.¹⁴⁰

Hamilton Gardens' Japanese garden is a physical manifestation of the potential that Shigemori saw in *karesansui* gardens.

¹³⁹ Author Unknown, 'Garden Offers Traditional Slice Of Japan', *Waikato Times*, 15th April 1997, Edition 2, p. 10.

¹⁴⁰ Tschumi, 2007, p. 54.

Sergel, De Lisle and Morris exhaustively researched the appropriate ways to arrange a *karesansui* garden, gleaning all they could find in books in New Zealand and from a garden tour of Japan.¹⁴¹ The garden which impressed the designers most was Daisen-in, Kyoto, (as discussed in Chapter One) whose design is reflected in the inclusion of a *karesansui* garden in Hamilton Gardens.¹⁴² The vertical rocks chosen to represent islands in the garden imitate the verticality of some of the rocks at the Daisen-in. The garden also continues around the corner as does the garden at the Daisen-in, enclosed by a small fence and camellia hedge. The north-eastern garden at the Daisen-in represents the Middle Sea of the journey of life, and in that garden grows a small plant, the single-flowered Camellia (*Camellia japonica*).¹⁴³ The Camellia symbolises contentment and domestic bliss, but can also symbolise sudden death due to the swift falling of the blossoms in a light breeze.¹⁴⁴ The Hamilton Garden's Japanese garden is enclosed on the far edge with a white-washed wall. The wall is crowned with a small series of red roofing tiles like the wall at the garden of the Ryōan-ji. The Daisen-in inspired not only the *karesansui* garden, but also the pavilion from which the garden is meant to be viewed.¹⁴⁵ Although it is not, as Sergel says, made to "an exact copy" of Daisen-in's *hōjō*, it is certainly a closely compared and lovingly realised interpretation of a Japanese pavilion in New Zealand.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Author Unknown, 'Garden Offers Traditional Slice Of Japan', *Waikato Times*, 15th April 1997, Edition 2, p. 10.

¹⁴² Author Unknown, 'Gardens' Japanese Pavilion A Challenge For All Involved', *Waikato Times*, 21st October 1996, Edition 1, p. 2.

¹⁴³ S. Eliovson, *Gardening The Japanese Way*, A. H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, Auckland, Sydney and Melbourne, 1970, p. 26.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 88. Hamilton Garden's *karesansui* garden is enclosed by a small wooden fence rising only approximately 30 centimetres off the ground. Inside that wooden enclosing fence is a rim of camellia hedge which measures approximately 30 centimetres off the ground and 30 centimetres wide.

¹⁴⁵ Author Unknown, 'Gardens' Japanese Pavilion A Challenge For All Involved', *Waikato Times*, 21st October 1996, Edition 1, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with the author, Friday 1st May 2009. The issue of authenticity is an important yet difficult one. New Zealand garden designers knew the task of creating an 'authentic' Japanese garden would be difficult if not impossible. They knew, in the words of Walter Benjamin, that "authenticity is not reproducible." See Benjamin and Bullock and Jennings, p. 271. However, Sergel believes that this is possible, noting an 'authentic' Japanese

The pavilion in Hamilton Garden's Japanese garden is named the 'Primrose Pavilion', perhaps due to the warm earthy tones of the timber. At the time of its construction, Mark de Lisle claimed that the pavilion was unique in New Zealand.¹⁴⁷ It was constructed between July and November 1996 by builders Lloyd Bilclough and David Bowden with assistance from Taskforce Green labourers.¹⁴⁸ The builders encountered several difficulties whilst building the 91 square metre pavilion, one of which was the subtle curvature of the roof which was completed in traditional Japanese *shoin* style.¹⁴⁹ The slight concave line of the roof was in contrast to the geometrical precision common to New Zealand architecture.¹⁵⁰ Another difficulty was the importation of the *sugawara* roofing tiles from Japan due to geographical, cultural and linguistic barriers.¹⁵¹ This pavilion forms the centre of the garden and connects all three sections of the garden, the Edo period stroll garden represented by the Sweet Osmanthus Walk, the Muromachi period-style *karesansui* garden, and the Heian period-style water-based pleasure garden. The pavilion is open on both sides with two sliding *shōji* panels. The panels are made of timber with two small circular carved copper handles.

garden must have "a slick and simple design". From an Interview with the author, Friday 1st May 2009. He argued one could achieve this goal with the use of subtle symbolism, understatement and subdued colour palette, elements seen in much Modernist landscape architecture. In an article about the Hamilton Gardens, Judith Petheram asked Sergel whether these gardens are 'themed gardens' and therefore "in danger of being a bit kitsch, a tacky Disney-like representation, especially given the replica gardens it features?" See J. Petheram, 'Culture Or Kitsch?', *The Nelson Mail*, 19th March 2004, Edition 1, p. 5. Sergel replied that, "[c]ertainly there is a real risk Hamilton Gardens could become a Disneyland, but we work hard to maintain the integrity of the designs... We try to keep them as authentic as possible. Not everyone has the chance to go overseas and see the real thing. We're making it accessible to people... People enjoy going to all kinds of restaurants and this is no different..." See Petheram, p. 5. The concept of these 'themed gardens' is to tell the 'the story of gardens' or to provide a portal into the values, traditions and beliefs of these countries, as represented by gardens. Judith Petheram asked further: "So does that mean he's relaxed about the authenticity of the designs and their construction?" See Petheram, p. 5. In reply, Sergel concluded, "We could always do better, you can't get everything exactly right... You've got to make compromises." See Petheram, p. 5. Indeed sacrifices had to be made, such as the ropes and small fences to keep the public out of certain areas and the inclusion of a wheelchair ramp for disabled access to the pavilion. See Petheram, p. 5. The importance of these restrictions therefore outweigh the authenticity concerns due to the fact that these gardens have been created by the local council in mind of those regulations.

¹⁴⁷ Author Unknown, 'Gardens' Japanese Pavilion A Challenge For All Involved', *Waikato Times*, 21st October 1996, Edition 1, p. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 2.

On the left side of the pavilion is a *tokonoma* (alcove) adorned with an inscription of the winning entry to the 1998 Hamilton Gardens Japanese Poetry Competition.¹⁵² The pavilion provides a platform for the viewing of the *karesansui* garden and a shelter for the other side of the pavilion, the water garden.

The water garden comprises a large oval lake punctuated by several small islands, one of which features a manicured pine tree, another a turtle island.¹⁵³ (Figure 38) Other rock arrangements punctuate the still water in which fish and eels live. The lake is fed by a small stream and waterfall on its north-western perimeter. Around the circumference of the lake are other manicured trees and shrubs, including a bamboo forest and manicured pine tree with large training wires set into the lake to encourage the pine tree to grow out over the lake, a traditional technique used in Japanese gardens.¹⁵⁴ This is the triumph of this garden, the inclusion of traditional elements as well as appropriate alternative materials and vegetation when the former could not be found. The integration of such elements raises this garden from an antipodean imitation to an excellent example of what an educated design team can achieve when the task of creating a Japanese-inspired garden in New Zealand is accomplished with

¹⁵² There are two plaques, one written in English and the other in Japanese characters. In English it reads: "Fluid echoes dance - Ripples of sun and water, Hold dreams in the eaves". The poem is written in traditional Japanese haiku and was composed by Vonnice Hughes from Auckland.

¹⁵³ The turtle island originally had a pine tree upon it also, but due to a fungal disease the pine tree died and recently had to be removed. However, it will be replaced with another pine of equal age and quality.

¹⁵⁴ As Eliovson explains, "Trees, especially Pines, with branches that are trained so that they overhang water are admired in particular." See Eliovson, p. 124. A pine tree was traditionally encouraged to grow near water with various sorts of herbal concoctions. Now gardeners use wire to achieve a more controlled growth of a tree. There are three popular pine trees in Japan, namely the Black Pine (*Pinus thunbergia*), the Red Pine (*Pinus densiflora*) and the Five-needled Pine (*Pinus pentaphylla*). See Eliovson, p. 123. The pine tree represents immortality and longevity, so a large impressive pine tree is a good omen for those around it. See Eliovson, p. 84. The Japanese wished for a pine tree to grow near water for several reasons such as aesthetics and for its poetic associations. A pine tree could also be trained over water so that one could look through the branches to the water. Whilst being visually pleasing, the branches make the surroundings appear to be further in the distance and therefore it reminds one of a landscape outside of the garden or even include a landscape outside of the garden which the tree frames. See Eliovson, p. 124. There is also a well-known idea in Japan which relates the sound of the wind whistling through a pine tree's branch to the sound a tea kettle makes when heated. Other vegetation around the pond in the Hamilton Garden's Japanese Garden are Japanese maples (*Acer palmatum*) which symbolically represent faithfulness and loyalty. Japanese cherry blossoms also feature especially the variation entitled 'Mt Fuji' (*Prunus serrulata* 'Shirotae')¹⁵⁴ which symbolise the fleeting nature of beauty.

knowledge, adaptability and dedicated support. The predominant reason for the success of Hamilton Gardens Japanese Garden is due to its masterfully executed tri-partite concept.

(viii) Auckland Zoo's Japanese Garden

The Japanese Garden constructed at Auckland Zoo also attempted to encapsulate three historical periods of the Japanese gardening tradition into one garden. (Figure 39) The garden was originally meant to be constructed on the roof of the Aotea Centre, instead, it was considered too heavy to be placed on a roof and the Auckland Zoo was chosen for its accessibility and security.¹⁵⁵ Completed in October 1989, it is hidden from zoo-visitors by a *pittosporum* hedge.¹⁵⁶ Here, the stroll garden is represented by the main entrance and corresponding pathway. The visitor enters through an elaborate *torii* made of Japanese Cedar (*Cryptomeria japonica*) which was designed in Japan and then sent to New Zealand to be reconstructed by two craftsmen with a tinsmith completing the copper roofing.¹⁵⁷ The *torii* leads to a small but elegantly covered *gyō*-style path lined with Japanese Camellias (*Camellia japonica*).¹⁵⁸ The pathway turns right and the garden is revealed. There is a small lawn in which *sō*-style stepping stones lead in two directions so one could continue to walk to the small stone bridge which crosses the stream, or towards the garden-viewing platform. A *yukimi-gata* ('snow-viewing' lantern) is placed upon the edge of the lawn as is a *chozubachi* (water-basin). The goldfish-filled stream is fed by a small waterfall which is located in the north-west of the garden.¹⁵⁹ The stream and its lush foliage constitutes a Heian period-inspired, water-based pleasure garden. The visitor views the pleasure garden from a small

¹⁵⁵ R. Thodey, 'A Japanese Garden For Auckland Zoo' in *New Zealand Gardener*, Auckland, vol. 46, August 1990, p. 32.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁵⁹ In Japanese gardens, carp (*koi*) are generally used in ponds as they represent dedication, especially in terms of students receiving a good education. But carp are considered a noxious fish in New Zealand and therefore could not be used. Goldfish were substituted. See R. Thodey, 'A Japanese Garden For Auckland Zoo' in *New Zealand Gardener*, Auckland, August 1990, v. 46, p.34.

platform to the east of the garden, sometimes used for Japanese tea ceremonies. The platform is enclosed on two sides with thatched bamboo in a latticed pattern to create the illusion of a teahouse. There is a hearth in the corner of the platform, so that the water can be heated in the traditional method. The tea ceremony platform indicates the third style of garden which is represented at Auckland Zoo's Japanese garden: the tea garden. This style of garden was popular in Edo period *daimyō* gardens, discussed in Chapter One.

The Auckland Zoo project was created by a talented team comprised of five skilled men from Japan, four of whom were volunteers, and as Rosemary Thodey explains, “considered it an honour to be invited to participate in the project.”¹⁶⁰ (Figure 40) The master gardener was Mr Matsuda, who worked alongside Mr Kubota, the landscape architect and Mr Takai, the master carpenter.¹⁶¹ The representatives from New Zealand were led by Stephanie McMahon, head gardener of the Auckland Zoo, who worked alongside the Japanese team and ground-staff from the Zoo provided labour and Bonsai expert Bob Langholme.¹⁶² Sourcing plants presented a problem for McMahon. As Rosemary Thodey notes, “In Japan, nurseries offer fully grown specimens of all kinds of plants, many of them of considerable age.”¹⁶³ New Zealand's nurseries could not provide many of the exact Japanese plants and so New Zealand natives were substituted, such as flax, ladder ferns, *coprosma* and *hebes*. The New Zealand natives correlate well with the Japanese natives, such as Japanese pines, cedars, and maples.¹⁶⁴ “The centrepiece of the garden” claims Thodey, “is an *Agonis flexuosa* (Willow

¹⁶⁰ Thodey, p. 32.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, New Zealand flax and ferns have been adopted by Japan and are being used in Japanese gardens. This is an apt example of botanical borrowings between New Zealand and Japan. See B. Matthews, *Gardens Of New Zealand*, Auckland, Sydney, London, and New York, 1983. However, this might not be so much of a coincidence, as Kathryn Bradley-Hole states, “Much of Europe, North America, Japan and New Zealand fall into the band of ‘temperate deciduous forest’, wherein broadleaf deciduous trees would dominate if the land was left to its own devices.” See K. Bradley-Hole, *Stone, Rock & Gravel: Natural Features For Modern Gardens*, London, 2000, p. 31.

Myrtle) which had been trained at the Domain by bonsai expert Bob Langholme. This tree is 35 to 40 years old, beautifully shaped and covered with lichen.”¹⁶⁵ Japanese Magnolias (*Magnolia liliiflora*), Japanese Spiraeas (*Spiraea japonica*), Japanese Gardenias (*Gardenias jasminoides*) and Japanese Azaleas (*Rhododendron kaempferi*) also feature. Moss-covered rocks surround the periphery of the stream. River stones were sourced locally whilst the basalt rocks were sourced from elsewhere in the Zoo.¹⁶⁶ The garden is enclosed within a *tecomanthe*-covered fence.

The Japanese garden at the Auckland Zoo might be described as a hybrid garden, insofar as two or more elements of different cultures, movements or designs are incorporated into the one garden. The Auckland Zoo’s garden is a twofold hybrid. It forms an entity out of Japanese and New Zealand elements whilst also forming a hybrid of three periods of the history of the Japanese garden design into one garden. New Zealand native plants and Japanese indigenous plants have been used in this garden in equal measure. Many plant species native to New Zealand also have sister species which are natives to other countries such as Japan (i.e., the genus is the same but the species is different). For example, in the *Pittosporum* genus there are two New Zealand native species, Tarata (*Pittosporum euginioides*) and Kohuhu (*Pittosporum tenuifolium*), but the Japanese Cheesewood (*Pittosporum tobira*) is a Japanese indigenous plant. In a way, these plants have familial ties to each other and therefore the use of their different species in Japanese gardens represents a translation of the original. The garden’s hybridity makes an important statement about the process of globalisation.

¹⁶⁵ Thodey, p. 33.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 32.

(ix) Modernism And New Zealand's Japanese Gardens

As Modernism was introduced locally it became imbued with tradition and a sense of that location, especially in the designs of Japanese landscape architects.¹⁶⁷ Eliovson notes, “Leading Japanese garden designers have constructed modern Japanese-style gardens in other countries, while retaining the spirit and taste of their own country.”¹⁶⁸ The Japanese gardens in Hamilton Gardens and Auckland Zoo include clean lines and geometrical precision in some places, yet also aspects of Japanese gardening traditions and a sense of location through the use of New Zealand natives. One could conclude that each Japanese garden is constructed with its location in mind. This is true of Japanese gardens in any country. Location does not dictate the garden's style, but it influences the elements within it.

Another Modernist aspect of these gardens is the apparent need to combine the trajectory of the history of the Japanese garden into one garden. Streamlining, simplicity and efficiency are three important characteristics of Modernist design. These qualities demand a designer to gather essential features of a garden, building or object and cast aside any unnecessary elements. This is what both public Japanese gardens have done. The designers have picked the essential features of what they have decided represents the history of the Japanese garden, casting aside any features they have found redundant. Why could each garden-designer not have chosen a specific period or style and made or recreated it? It is the Modernist attitude of amalgamation which has led to the formation of microcosms of Japanese gardening tradition in its entirety. Another catalyst for gardens of this type were the manuals on the creation of a

¹⁶⁷ For example Hideo Sasaki (1919-2000) was born in Reedley, California, but was inspired by his Japanese heritage. Like Mirei Shigemori, he wanted to modernise landscape architecture and he felt that traditional Japanese garden designs could be used to achieve his goal. He wrote: “The development of design ideas, in the United States at least, has now reached a point which was reached in Japan some four to five centuries ago,...The ideas of modular expression, the ‘flow’ of space, the integration of indoors and outdoors, the use of inherent characteristics of materials, etc., have been commonly accepted only recently in the United States.” See P. Walker, and M. Simo, *Invisible Gardens: The Search For Modernism in the American Landscape*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 1994, pp. 202-203.

¹⁶⁸ Eliovson, p. 31.

Japanese garden which have proliferated in the West.¹⁶⁹ These kinds of texts proliferated in seventeenth century Japan and assisted the production of gardens based on imitations. This led to the rejection of innovation, as Mirei Shigemori charges, “the gardens after the middle of the Edo period lost their artistic character and turned into form only.”¹⁷⁰ This historical precedent reoccurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century alongside the interest in creating Japanese gardens abroad. However, this did not occur in New Zealand’s Japanese-inspired gardens as they were created not as imitations, but as antipodean interpretations of the Japanese gardening tradition.

¹⁶⁹ These Western guides have proliferated since the late nineteenth century, but have only been widely accessible since the late twentieth century, such as S. Eliovson, *Gardening The Japanese Way*, Wellington, Auckland, Sydney and Melbourne, 1970.

¹⁷⁰ C. Tschumi, ‘The Re-enchantment of the Maegaki residence by Mirei Shigemori’ in M. Conan, *Contemporary Garden Aesthetics, Creations and Interpretations*, Washington D.C., 2007, pp. 42-43.

Conclusion

New Zealand's Japanese gardens are the result of a process of translation. However, the translation of Japanese traditions into a modern context and foreign environment forms an unremitting line of consequences. Gropius had firm ideas about the process of Japanese modernisation and wrote, "I believe that the difficult transformation from a traditional to a modern form of society, adapted to the industrial age, should be carried through by the Japanese in the spirit of their *own* culture..."¹⁷¹ Here, Gropius is arguing that the Japanese should modernise their society through studying their own traditions. Modernism in Japan can therefore be understood as a refined regional style, not part of an indifferent international style. Shigemori's gardens illustrate this idea as he saw *karesansui* gardens as an "ideal paradigm for modernised residential gardens".¹⁷² His gardens were created in a Modernist vocabulary whilst remaining distinctly Japanese in aesthetics and gravitas.

A comparison can be made between these modernised Japanese gardens and New Zealand's Japanese gardens as New Zealand designers also used modern techniques and ideas whilst integrating Japanese and New Zealand ideas, materials and traditions. New Zealand's Japanese-inspired gardens represent manifold traditions and innovations. Japanese gardening techniques, ideas, philosophies, plants and materials were amalgamated with New Zealand's native flora and fauna, indigenous materials and popular styles to create a hybrid garden. This form of garden was not wholly inspired by Japanese or New Zealand styles or aesthetics. In this way, New Zealand's Japanese gardens have produced their own regional idiom. These gardens could only be constructed in New Zealand as they are comprised of distinctly New Zealand elements. However, they are also distinctly Japanese in aesthetics, techniques, arrangement and atmosphere. The gardens are a mix of varied exotics and native familiarity.

¹⁷¹ Gropius, 1955, p. 80.

¹⁷² Tschumi, 2007, p. 54.

In the post-modern era of transient trends, New Zealand's Japanese-inspired gardens serve as an appropriate indication of the translation's success due to, in part, the production of this regional idiom. This forms the confluence point of the national and the international as well as the past and the present. Yet in our international world, where objects, images, designs and ideas can be transmitted globally, we are all faced with a dilemma. What are the consequences of that object or idea being introduced into a foreign context? Even when one is aware of the object's history or intent, when it is placed in a foreign environment its meaning is changed and its 'otherness' is heightened. However, when an object is placed in a foreign environment in ignorance of its history or meaning its appreciation is inevitably restricted. This is no more true than in the case of garden design. When a garden design is translated into a new environment the component parts of that garden design are changed and restricted due to certain materials local availability, alongside logistical and financial concerns. The designers of New Zealand's Japanese gardens found solutions to these problems by forming gardens through their own interpretation of Japanese and New Zealand traditions and their own innovations.

The accumulation of Japanese gardens in New Zealand illustrate the different ways in which the historical forms, discussed in Chapter One, could be adapted and translated into a different place and time. These translations prove these gardens' capacity to be renewed and revised, a potential seen by Gropius and Shigemori in the mid-twentieth century. Yet, there are two perspectives within the analysis of New Zealand's Japanese-inspired gardens. Strewe adopted these traditional Japanese techniques and applied them to his Modernist gardens. His gardens, in some respects, prove Gropius's point about the Japanese gardens potential to be adapted to become examples of Modernism. However, the Hamilton Gardens' Japanese

garden, Auckland Zoo's Japanese garden, Shigeki gardens and the Rives' house and garden represent the other perspective. These are self-consciously Japanese-inspired gardens which attempt to interpret and adapt historical Japanese forms to create their own regional idiom.

The second group of gardens wish to be recognised as gardens with Japanese style and character whilst also retaining their own sense of New Zealand's peculiarities. The designers behind these projects also saw potential in Japanese gardens, not to become Modernist, but to fulfil all of their modern requirements. As Gropius wrote, "the past had already found the answer to many of our modern requirements..."¹⁷³ These designers saw that the Japanese had solution to their needs, just as Gropius had suggested. These gardens were made by well-read designers and gardeners whose purpose was to create an aesthetically pleasing garden appropriate for its surroundings, whilst utilising the centuries-old ideas and wisdom of Japanese garden designers as a guide. The fact that these private and public gardens exist in New Zealand represents its multicultural society and the progress of globalisation in the late twentieth century. Garden designers, manuals, Sister City relationships, and the Post-Modern atmosphere of eclecticism coupled with individual enthusiasm, have created a quintessential expression of 'Japaneseness' in New Zealand.

¹⁷³ Gropius, 1955, p. 11.

Bibliography

Abbs, Barbara, et al., *The Contemporary Garden*, Phaidon, London and New York, 2009.

Adam, John P., and Bradbury, Matthew, 'Fred Tschopp (1905-1980), Landscape Architect: New Zealand's First Modern Practitioner, 1929-1932. Ad Astera Per Aspera' in *Landscape Review*, Volume 8 (2), Lincoln University Press, Lincoln, October 2004, pp. 43-59.

Adshead, Samuel Adrian Miles, *China In World History*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke and New York, 2000.

Alofsin, Anthony, *The Struggle For Modernism: Architecture, Landscape Architecture, And City Planning At Harvard*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York and London, 2002.

Arnold, Kenneth, *Circle Of The Way*, Ken Arnold Books, LLC., Portland, Oregon, 2000.

Barnett, Rod, *Garden Style In New Zealand*, Random House, Auckland, 1993.

Barnett, Rod, and Margetts, Jacqueline A., 'Celebrating Ted Smyth: The Emergence Of Modern Space In New Zealand Gardens' in Leach, Andrew, & Matthewson, Gill, (Eds.), *Celebration: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ), 24th -27th September 2005*, Published by SAHANZ, Napier, September 2005, pp. 35-40.

Bartram, Alan, *Bauhaus, Modernism And The Illustrated Book*, British Library, London, 2004.

Beattie, James, 'Growing Chinese Influences In New Zealand: Chinese Gardens, Identity And Meaning', in *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, Auckland, Vol. 9, No. 1, June 2007, pp. 38-61.

Beattie, James, and Heinzen, Jasper M., and Adam, John P., 'Japanese Gardens And Plants In New Zealand, 1850-1950: Transculturation And Transmission' in *Studies In The History Of Gardens And Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Taylor and Francis, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 2008, pp. 219-236.

Belting, Hans, et al., *Art History After Modernism*, University Of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2003.

Benjamin, Walter, and Bullock, Marcus Paul, and Jennings, Micheal William, *1938-1940*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2003.

Berthier, François, *Reading Zen In The Rocks: The Japanese Dry Landscape Garden*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 2000.

Bradbury, Matthew, (ed.) *A History Of The Garden In New Zealand*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1995.

Bradley-Hole, Kathryn, *Stone, Rock & Gravel: Natural Features For Modern Gardens*, Cassell & Co., London, 2000.

Brinker, Helmut, and Kanazawa, Hiroshi, and Leisinger, Andreas, 'ZEN Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings' in *Artibus Asiae Supplementum*, Vol. 40, ZEN Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings (1996), Published by Artibus Asiae Publishers, pp. 3-384.

Broadbent, Geoffrey, *Emerging Concepts In Urban Space Design*, Taylor And Francis, London, 1996.

Brosseau, Sylvie, 'Tokyo's Modern Parks: Space And Practices' in Conan, Michel, (ed.) *Performance And Appropriation: Profane Ritual In Gardens And Landscapes*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library And Collection, Washington D.C., 2007, pp. 95-115.

Burnard, Mary, *The New Garden Heritage Of New Zealand*, Phoenix Press, Wellington, 1990.

Byars, Mel, *The Design Encyclopedia*, L. King Publishers, London, 2004.

Childs, Peter, *Modernism*, Routledge, London and New York, 2000.

Church, Thomas Dolliver, and Hall, Grace, and Laurie, Michael, *Gardens Are For People*, Third Edition, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995.

Cleaver, Charles Grinnell, *Japanese And Americans: Cultural Parallels And Paradoxes*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and Saint Paul, Minnesota, 1976.

Clunas, Craig, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture In Ming Dynasty China*, Reaktion Books, London, 1996.

Clunas, Craig, 'Nature And Ideology In Western Descriptions Of The Chinese Garden' in Wolschke-Bulmahn, Joachim, *Nature And Ideology: Natural Garden Design In The Twentieth Century*, This text presents revised versions of papers delivered at the 1996 Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium On The History Of Landscape Architecture, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library And Collection, Washington D.C., 1997, pp. 21-33.

Collier, Gordon, *New Zealand Gardens Of Significance: Guidebook*, New Zealand Garden's Trust, Warkworth, New Zealand, 2007.

Conan, Michel, (ed.) *Performance And Appropriation: Profane Ritual In Gardens And Landscapes*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library And Collection, Washington D.C., 2007.

Conan, Michel, *Contemporary Garden Aesthetics, Creations and Interpretations*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library And Collection, Washington D.C., 2007.

Conder, Josiah, *Landscape Gardening In Japan*, Kondansha International, Tokyo, New York, and London, 2002.

Cooper, David Edward, *A Philosophy Of Gardens*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006.

Crinson, Mark, *Modern Architecture And The End Of Empire*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Aldershot, 2003.

Eckbo, Garrett, 'Landscape Design In The USA As Applied To The Private Garden In California' in *Architectural Review*, Vol. 105, No. 625, 1949, pp. 24-32.

Eckbo, Garrett, *Landscape for Living*, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, 1950.

Eckbo, Garrett, *The Art Of Home Landscaping*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1956.

Edmanson, Jane, and Lawrence, Lorrie, *The New Zealand Garden*, Viking Pacific, Auckland, 1993.

Eliovson, Sima, *Gardening The Japanese Way*, A. H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, Auckland, Sydney and Melbourne, 1970.

Engel, David, H., *Japanese Gardens For Today*, Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, 1959.

Fell, Derek, *The Gardens Of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Frances Lincoln Limited, London, 2009.

Firth, Susan, and Hanly, Gil, *New Zealand City Gardens*, Shoal Bay Press, Whitianga, 1989.

Fung, Stanislaus, 'Longing And Belonging In A Chinese Garden', in Conan, Michel, *Perspectives On Garden Histories*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 1999.

Fowler, Merv, *Zen Buddhism: Beliefs And Practices*, Sussex Academic Press, Sussex, 2005.
Franklin, Adrian, *Nature And Social Theory*, Sage Publishers, Thousand Oaks, California, 2002.

Fraser, Maxine, *Hamilton Gardens: A Selection Of Articles And References*, Infokit No. 97., Hamilton City Council, Hamilton, New Zealand, November 2002.

Friar, Jillian, and Friar, Denis, *New Zealand Gardens Open To Visit*, 4th Edition, Hodder Moa Beckett, Auckland, 2000.

Fujioka, Michio, and Okamoto, Shigeo, *Kyoto Country Retreats: The Shugakuin And Katsura Palaces*, Kodansha International, Tokyo and New York, 1983.

Gee, Maurice, *Live Bodies*, Penguin, Auckland, 1998.

Greenberg, Clement, 'Modernist Painting' in Greenberg, Clement, and O'Brian, John, *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays And Criticism*, Volume Four, University Of Chicago, Chicago, 1995.

Gropius, Walter, *Bauhaus Manifesto And Program*, The Administration of the State Bauhaus at Weimar, Weimar, April 1919.

Gropius, Walter, 'Walter Gropius' in Barr, Alfred H., and Gropius, Walter, et. al., 'What Is Happening To Modern Architecture? A Symposium At The Museum Of Modern Art' in *The Bulletin Of The Museum Of Modern Art*, Vol. 15, No. 3, Museum Of Modern Art Publishers, New York, Spring 1948, pp. 4-20.

Gropius, Walter, 'Architecture in Japan' in *Perspecta*, Vol. 3 (1955), Published by The MIT Press on behalf of *Perspecta*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955, pp. 9-80.

Gropius, Walter, *Scope Of Total Architecture*, Allen And Unwin, London, 1956.

Gropius, Walter, 'Address To Weimar Craftsmen And Industry Representatives', Spring 1919, in Gropius, Walter, 'The Bauhaus: Crafts Or Industry?' in *The Journal Of Architectural Education*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Association Of The Collegiate Schools Of Architecture Inc., September 1963, pp. 31-32.

Gropius, Walter, 'Tradition And Continuity In Architecture' in *Architectural Record*, McGraw-Hill, New York, May-July, 1964.

Gropius, Walter, *The New Architecture And The Bauhaus*, The MIT Press, Boston, 1965.

Gustafson, Herb, *The Art of Japanese Gardens: Designing And Making Your Own Peaceful Space*, Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1999.

Hallinan, Lynda, 'From Rubbish To Reflections' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 55, June 1999, pp. 30-34.

Hamilton City Council, *Hamilton Gardens Draft Management Plan*, Hamilton City Council, Hamilton, New Zealand, 1992.

Hamilton City Council, *Hamilton Gardens Guide Book*, Hamilton City Council in association with the Waikato Times, Hamilton, New Zealand, 1993.

Hamilton City Council, *Hamilton Gardens Draft Management Plan: Second Review*, Hamilton City Council, Hamilton, New Zealand, December 15th 1999.

Hamilton (N.Z.) Department of Recreation And Welfare, *Hamilton Gardens Management Plan*, Hamilton (N.Z.) Department of Recreation And Welfare, Hamilton, New Zealand, 1983.

Hamilton (N.Z.) Department of Recreation And Welfare, *Hamilton Gardens: Discussion Document For The Development Of Hamilton Gardens*, Hamilton (N.Z.) Department of Recreation And Welfare, Hamilton, New Zealand, 1983.

Harada, Jirō, *The Gardens Of Japan*, The Studio Ltd., London, 1928.

Harrison, Charles, *Movements In Modern Art: Modernism*, Tate Publishing, London, 1997.

Harte, Sunniva, *Zen Gardening*, Pavilion, Brighton, England, 2002.

Henshall, Ken, and Riach, Alan, (eds.) *Poetry Of The Japanese Garden At Hamilton Gardens: An Anthology Of Poems Submitted To The Japanese Gardens Trust (Hamilton Gardens) Japanese Poetry Competition*, Waikato Times, Hamilton, New Zealand, 1998.

Hideto, Kishida, and Kokusai Kankokyoku, *Japanese Architecture*, Read Country Books, Alcester, Warwickshire, 2008.

Hoffa, Harlan, 'Walter Gropius Innovator' in *Art Education*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jan., 1961), Published by the National Art Education Association, New York, 1961, pp. 12-28.

Holborn, Mark, *The Ocean In The Sand. Japan: From Landscape To Garden*, Gordon Fraser, London, 1978.

Hrdlička, Zdeněk, and Hrdličková, Věnceslava, and Sawano, Takashi, (ed.) *The Art Of Japanese Gardening*, The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, London, 1989.

Hughes, Robert, *The Shock Of The New*, Alfred A. Knoff, New York, 1991.

Isozaki, Arata, *Japan-ness in Architecture*, translated by Sabu Kohso, The MIT Press, Cambridge, 2006.

Itō, Teiji, *The Gardens Of Japan*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York, and London, 1984.

Jackson, Anna, 'Imagining Japan: The Victorian Perception And Acquisition Of Japanese Culture' in *Journal of Design History* 5, no. 4, 1992, pp. 245-56.

Kassler, Elizabeth B., *Modern Gardens And The Landscape*, Museum of Modern Art Press, New York, 1964.

Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishing, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 2004.

Keane, Marc Peter, *The Art Of Setting Stones & Other Writings From The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2002.

Kersten, Rikki, *Democracy In Post-War Japan*, Routledge, London and New York, 1996.

Keswick, Maggie, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art And Architecture*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2003.

Kieschnick, John, *The Impact Of Buddhism On Chinese Material Culture*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2003.

Kleiner, Fred S., (ed.) *Gardner's Art Through The Ages: A Global History*, Thirteenth Edition, Cengage Learning EMEA Publishing, Andover, 2008.

Kolb, David, *Postmodern Sophistications: Philosophy, Architecture And Tradition*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1990.

Kuck, Loraine, *The World Of The Japanese Garden: From Chinese Origins To Modern Landscape Art*, Walker/ Weatherhill, New York and Tokyo, 1968.

Kuitert, Wybe, *Themes, Scenes, And Taste In The History Of Japanese Garden Art*, J.C. Gieben, Amsterdam, 1988.

Kuitert, Wybe, *Themes In The History Of Japanese Garden Art*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2002.

Kukuyama, Toshio, *Heian Temples: Byōdō-in and Chuson-ji*, Weatherhill/Heibonsha, New York and Tokyo, 1976.

Leonard, Mark, *Politics Without Frontiers: The Role Of Political Parties In Europe's Future*, Demos (Organisation), London, 1997.

Loos, Adolf, *Ornament And Crime: Selected Essays*, Ariadne Press, Riverside, California, 1998.

Lupfer, Gilbert, and Sigel, Paul, *Walter Gropius, 1883-1969: The Promoter Of A New Form*, Taschen, Paris, Cologne, Brussels, London, Los Angeles, and New York City, 2004.

Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002.

Mann, William A., *Landscape Architecture: An Illustrated History In Timelines, Site Plan, And Biography*, Wiley And Sons, New York, 1991.

Masao, Hayakawa, *The Garden Art Of Japan*, Weatherhill/Heibonsha, New York and Tokyo, 1984.

Masao, Hayakawa, 'The Microcosmic Space Created by Sen Rikyū' in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, Vol. 80, (1995), Urasenke Foundation, Kyoto, 1995, pp. 21-37.

Mason, Alpheus Thomas, *History Of Japan*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Boston, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 1972.

Mason, R.H.P., and Caiger, J.G., *A History Of Japan*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Boston, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 1997.

Matthews, Barbara, *Gardens Of New Zealand*, Lansdowne Press, Auckland, Sydney, London, and New York, 1983.

Matthews, Julian, and Collier, Gordon, *The New Zealander's Garden*, Endeavour Press, Milford, Auckland, 1985.

Matthews, Julian, and Hallinan, Linda and Hanly, Gil, *New Zealand City Garden Style*, David Bateman Publishers, Auckland, 2000.

McCraw, David R., *Du Fu's Laments From The South*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1992.

McNeil, Peter, 'Design History Society Myths of Modernism: Japanese Architecture, Interior Design and the West, c. 1920-1940' in *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1992), Published by the Oxford University Press on behalf of Design History Society, Oxford, 1992, pp. 281-294.

- McRae, Alison, *Gardens To Visit In New Zealand*, 5th Edition, David Bateman Publishers, Auckland, 1995.
- Meecham, Pam, and Sheldon, Julie, *Modern Art: A Critical Introduction*, Routledge, London and New York, 2000.
- Mercer, Kobena, *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, 2005.
- Millard, Charles W., 'The Gardens of Kyoto in Summer' in *The Hudson Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer, 1985), Published by The Hudson Review, Inc., pp. 182-192.
- Miller, Mara, *The Garden As An Art*, State University Of New York Press, Albany, 1993.
- Mishima, Yukio, *Silk And Insight*, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, New York, 1998.
- Morse, Samuel C., 'Jōchō's Statue Of Amida At The Byōdō-in And Cultural Legitimization In Late Heian Japan', in Brown, Rebecca, and Hutton, Deborah S., (eds.) *Asian Art*, Blackwell Publishers, Malden, Massachusetts, 2006, Chapter 29; pp. 295-309.
- Murasaki, Shikibu, *The Tale Of Genji*, Translated by Waley, Arthur, Vol.1, Fifth Impression, Allen & Unwin, London, 1973.
- Nagatomo, Shigenori, and Winfield, Pamela D., 'The Japanese Garden: Seeing And Cultivating Micro-Macrocosmic Correlativity', in Plate, S. Brent, *Religion, Art And Visual Culture: A Cross-Cultural Reader*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York and Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2002, pp. 145-152.
- Nakane, Kinsaku, *Kyoto Gardens*, Fourteenth Edition, Hoikusha Publishing Co., Ltd., Osaka, 1977.
- Newey, Sharon, 'A Yen For Zen' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 57, May 2001, pp. 80-84.
- Nishikawa, Kyōtarō, and Sano, Emily J., *The Great Age Of Japanese Buddhist Sculpture AD 600 -1300*, Published on occasion of an exhibition of Japanese Buddhist Sculpture at the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, 1982.
- Nitschke, Günter, *Japanese Gardens; Right Angle And Natural Form*, Taschen, Köln, London, Los Angeles, Madrid, Paris, Tokyo, 2003.
- Nosé, Michiko Rico, *Japan Modern: New Ideas For Contemporary Living*, Periplus, London, 2000.
- Nosé, Michiko Rico, *The Modern Japanese Garden*, Mitchell Beazley, London, 2002.
- Nute, Kevin, 'The Hō-ō-den: The Temple And The Villa Married In South Chicago' in *Frank Lloyd Wright And Japan: The Role Of Japanese Art And Architecture In The Work Of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Taylor & Francis, London, 1993, pp. 48-68.

Nute, Kevin, 'Design History Society Frank Lloyd Wright and Japanese Architecture: A Study in Inspiration' in *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1994), Published by the Oxford University Press on behalf of Design History Society, Oxford, 1994, pp. 169-185.

Nute, Kevin, *Place, Time, And Being In Japanese Architecture*, Routledge, London, 2004.

Nuttgens, Patrick, *Understanding Modern Architecture*, Unwin Hyman, London, 1988.

Ogden, Charles Kay, and Richards, Ivor Armstrong, *The Meaning of Meaning: A Study Of The Influence Of Language Upon Thought And Of The Science Of Symbolism*, 7th edition, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner And Co., London, 1945.

Oguchi, Motomi, and Cali, Joseph, *Create Your Own Japanese Garden: A Practical Guide*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York and London, 2007.

Ono, Ayako, *Japonisme In Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel And Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2003.

Ono, Sokyō, *Shinto: The Kami Way*, Thirtieth Edition, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston, and Tokyo, 2004.

Parker, Joseph D., *Zen Buddhist Landscape Arts Of Early Muromachi Japan (1336-1573)*, SUNY Press, Albany, New York, 1999.

Pearlman, Jill, 'Joseph Hudnut's Other Modernism at the "Harvard Bauhaus"' in *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (Dec., 1997), Published by the Society of Architectural Historians, Chicago, 1997, pp. 452-477.

Pekarik, Andrew, 'Japanese Design: A Survey Since 1950' in *Design Issues*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer, 1995), Published by The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995, pp. 71-84.

Pevsner, Nikolaus, 'New Zealand' in *Architectural Review*, Commonwealth Special 1, vol. 126, No. 752, October, 1959, pp. 203-217.

Pile, John F., *A History Of Interior Design*, Laurence King Publishing, London, 2005.

Ponciroli, Virginia, (ed.) *Katsura: Imperial Villa*, Electra Architecture, Milan, 2005.

Pregill, Philip, and Volkman, Nancy, *Landscapes In History: Design And Planning In The Eastern And Western Traditions*, John Wiley And Sons, Hoboken, New Jersey, 1999.

Rambach, Pierre, and Rambach, Susanne, *Gardens Of Longevity In China And Japan: The Art Of The Stone Raisers*, Rizzoli International Publications Inc., New York, 1987.

Rand, Marvin, *Greene & Greene*, Gibbs Smith Publishers, Layton, Utah, 2005.

Rewi, Adrienne, 'Japanese Serenity' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 83, September 1993, pp. 32-34.

Rewi, Adrienne, 'Tony Downes' in Rewi, Adrienne, *Private Views: Conversations With New Zealand Gardeners*, Hazard Press Ltd., Christchurch, 1996, pp. 38-43.

Reynolds, Jonathan M., 'Ise Shrine and a Modernist Construction of Japanese Tradition' in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (Jun., 2001), Published by the College Art Association, New York, 2001, pp. 316-341.

Salinger, John P., *The New Zealander's Guide To Pebble Gardens*, Collins, Auckland and London, 1971.

Seike, Kiyoshi, and Kudō, Masanobu, and Engel, David, H., *A Japanese Touch For Your Garden*, Kodansha International Ltd., Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco, 1983.

Seiroku, Noma, *The Arts Of Japan: Late Medieval To Modern*, Kodansha International Ltd., Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco, 2003.

Sergel, Peter, *Inspiration In The Garden*, Viking, Auckland, 2004.

Slawson, David A., *Secret Teachings In The Art Of Japanese Gardens; Design Principles Aesthetic Values*, First Paperback Edition, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York and London, 1991.

Slawson, David, 'Authenticity In Japanese Landscape Design' in Jonas, Patricia, *Japanese-Inspired Gardens: Adapting Japan's Design Traditions For Your Garden*, Brooklyn Botanic Garden, Brooklyn, New York, 2001, pp. 8-23.

Smith, Bernard, *Modernism's History: A Study In Twentieth-Century Art And Ideas*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1998.

Smith, Henry D., 'The Society for Japanese Studies Tokyo as an Idea: An Exploration of Japanese Urban Thought until 1945' in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Winter, 1978), Published by The Society for Japanese Studies, Seattle, 1978, pp. 45-80.

Strewe, Odo, 'A Problematic Sloping Garden' in *Home And Building*, New Zealand Institute Of Architects, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 3, August 1951, pp. 32-35.

Strewe, Odo, 'A Garden For Relaxation...Not Backache' in *Home And Building*, New Zealand Institute Of Architects, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 6, November 1951, pp. 32-33, 60-63.

Strewe, Odo, 'Towards A New Landscape' in *Home And Building*, New Zealand Institute Of Architects, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 7, December 1951, pp. 32-37.

Strewe, Odo, 'Garden For A Sloping Section', *New Zealand Modern Homes and Gardens*, Breckell And Nicholls, Auckland, Summer 1959-60, pp. 135-137.

Strewe, Odo, 'Landscaping - An Introduction' in *Palmer's Winter Planting Guide*, Palmer's, Auckland, 1962, p. 1.

Strewe, Odo, 'Your Garden' in *Palmer's Catalogue*, Palmer's, Auckland, 1967, p. 1.

Swaffield, Simon R., *Garden Design: A New Zealand Guide*, University of Canterbury Press, Christchurch, 1993.

Takei, Jirō, and Keane, Marc P., *Sakuteiki: Visions Of The Japanese Garden; A Modern Translation Of Japan's Gardening Classic*, Tuttle Publishing, Boston, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 2001.

Tannock, David, *Rock Gardening In New Zealand*, Whitcombe And Tombs Ltd., Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin and Wellington, New Zealand, Melbourne and London, 1924.

Tatsui, Matsunosuke, *Japanese Gardens*, Seventeenth Edition, Japan Travel Bureau Inc., Tokyo, 1969.

Taylor, Mark C., *Disfiguring: Art, Architecture, Religion*, University Of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992.

Telford, Deborah, 'Japanese Landscape' in *Next*, Next Magazine Publishers Ltd., Auckland, no. 41, July 1994, pp.110-114.

Thodey, Rosemary, 'A Japanese Garden For Auckland Zoo' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., vol. 46, Auckland, August 1990, pp. 32-35.

Thompson, Sue, *Odo Strewe, 1910-1985: Garden Designer*, Research Paper 604, Unitec, Auckland, October 1998.

Till, Karen E., *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and Saint Paul, 2005.

Trainor, Kevin, *Buddhism: The Illustrated Guide*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004.

Treib, Marc, *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1994.

Treib, Marc, and Imbert, Dorothee, *Garrett Eckbo: Modern Landscapes for Living*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996.

Treib, Marc, *The Architecture Of Landscape 1940-1960*, University Of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2002.

Trieb, Marc, and Herman, Ron, *A Guide To The Gardens Of Kyoto*, Kodansha International Ltd., Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco, 2003.

Tschumi, Christian, 'A Study of a New Type of Karesansui Garden' in *Journal of The Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*, Vol. 66 No. 5, Published by the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture, Tokyo, 2003, pp. 413-416.

Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005.

Tschumi, Christian, 'The Re-enchantment of the Maegaki residence by Mirei Shigemori' in Conan, Michel, *Contemporary Garden Aesthetics, Creations and Interpretations*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library And Collection, Washington D.C., 2007, pp. 35-56.

Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori, Rebel In The Garden: Modern Japanese Landscape Architecture*, Birkhäuser, Basel and Boston, 2007.

Tunnard, Christopher, *Gardens In The Modern Landscape*, The Architectural Press, London, 1938.

Turnbull, Stephen, *Samurai: The World Of The Warrior*, Osprey, Oxford, 2006.

Vale, Lawrence J., and Campanella, Thomas J., *The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover From Disaster*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005.

Walker, Jacqueline, *The Subtropical Garden*, Timber Press Inc., Portland, Oregon, 1992.

Walker, Paul, 'A New Monument In A New Land' in Birksted, Jan, *Landscapes Of Memory And Experience*, Taylor And Francis, London, 2000, pp. 31-46.

Walker, Paul, 'Here And There: House And Nature In New Zealand Architecture' in *Fabrications: The Journal Of The Society Of Architectural Historians, Australia And New Zealand*, Vol. 14, Issue 1-2, University Of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, Australia, December 2004, pp. 33-46.

Walker, Peter, and Simo, Melanie, *Invisible Gardens: The Search For Modernism in the American Landscape*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, 1994.

Waymark, Janet, *Modern Garden Design: Innovation Since 1900*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2003.

White, Xanthe, 'Hamilton Gardens' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 64, March 2008, pp. 58-65.

Wilk, Christopher, (ed.) *Modernism: Designing A New World*, V&A Publications, London, 2006.

Wilson, Alexander, *The Culture Of Nature: North American Landscape From Disney To The Exxon Valdez*, Between The Lines Publishers, Toronto, 1991.

Wodehouse, Lawrence, and Fazio, Michael, and Moffett, Marian, *A World History Of Architecture*, Laurence King Publishing, London, 2003.

Yanagi, Sōetsu, and Yanagi, Muneyoshi, and Leach, Bernard, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight Into Beauty*, Kodansha International Ltd., Tokyo, New York and San Francisco, 1989.

Yoshikawa, Isao, *The World Of Zen Gardens*, Graphic-sha Publishing Co., Ltd., Tokyo, 1991.

Yoshinaga, Yoshinobu, *Composition And Expression In Japanese Tradition Gardens*, Shōkoku-sha Publishing Company, Tokyo, 1962.

Young, David and Young, Michiko, *The Art Of The Japanese Garden*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Boston, Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, 2005.

Newspaper Articles (Chronological Order)

Evening Post

Grant, Simon, 'Inspiration From The East', *Evening Post*, 25th May 1995, Edition 2, p. 26.

Nelson Mail

Petheram, Judith, 'Mythical Touch Draws Hordes', *Nelson Mail*, 10th December 1998, Edition 2, p. 13.

Petheram, Judith, 'Culture Or Kitsch?', *Nelson Mail*, 19th March 2004, Edition 1, p. 1.

Author Unknown, 'Trees Destroyed By Vandals', *Nelson Mail*, 23rd November 2004, Edition 2, p. 4.

Author Unknown, 'Symbols Abound In Japanese Gardens', *Nelson Mail*, 29th September 2006, Edition 2, p. 13.

Gillies, Jude, 'A Growing Link', *Nelson Mail*, 29th September 2006, Edition 1, p. 1.

Mitchell, Naomi, 'Omen Of Luck At Blossom Festival', *Nelson Mail*, 2nd October 2006, Edition 1, p. 5.

Foes-Lamb, Philippa, 'Gift Of Spring', *Nelson Mail*, 5th October 2007, Edition 2, p. 1.

Author Unknown, 'River Of Sand Flows Through Miyazu', *Nelson Mail*, 15th January 2009, Edition 1, p. 3.

New Zealand Herald

Bidois, Vanessa, 'The Garden That Got There First', *New Zealand Herald*, 21st August 1999, Edition 1, p. 1.

Author Unknown, 'Good Gardens: When Simple Is The Answer', *New Zealand Herald*, 2nd September 2008, Edition 7, p. 32.

Sunday Star Times

Farrell, Simon, 'Beverly's Courtyard Is Turning Japanese', *Sunday Star Times*, 7th April 1996, Edition A, p.3.

Waikato Times

Author Unknown, 'Gardens' Japanese Pavilion A Challenge For All Involved', *Waikato Times*, 21st October 1996, Edition 1, p. 2.

Author Unknown, 'Garden Plans Brought To Fruition', *Waikato Times*, 15th April 1997, Edition 2, p. 1.

Author Unknown, 'Garden Offers Traditional Slice Of Japan', *Waikato Times*, 15th April 1997, Edition 2, p. 10.

Sergel, Peter, 'In Hamilton Gardens', *Waikato Times*, 7th August 1998, Edition 1, p. 13.

Sergel, Peter, 'In Hamilton Gardens', *Waikato Times*, 9th October 1998, Edition 2, p. 11.

Tagg, Fritha, 'Creating Shibusa', *Waikato Times*, 23rd October 2003, Edition 2, p. 21.

Vos, Inger, 'Hamilton Gardens Boosts Economy By \$11 Million A Year', *Waikato Times*, 25th November 2003, Edition 2, p. 5.

Irvine, Denise, 'Garden Guides Show City's Blossoms', *Waikato Times*, 9th April 2005, Edition 2, p. 1.

Irvine, Denise, 'Dollars And Scents', *Waikato Times*, 3rd June 2006, Edition 2, p. 4.

Web Sources

Architecture Archive Auckland Website

Main Link: <http://www.architecture-archive.auckland.ac.nz/>

Specific Link: Constitution Of The Architectural Group,

http://www.architecture-archive.auckland.ac.nz/docs/aaGroup_constitution_document_sml.pdf .

Specific Link: The Manifesto Of The Architectural Group,

http://www.architecture-archive.auckland.ac.nz/docs/aaGroup_Manifesto_document_sml.pdf

Author(s): Bill Wilson and Marilyn Hart.

Accessed: 28th September 2009.

Hamilton Gardens Official Website

Main Website: <http://www.hamiltongardens.co.nz/>

Specific Link: <http://www.hamiltongardens.co.nz/index.asp?pageID=2145827413>

Author: Hamilton City Council and Peter Sergel.

Accessed: 24th August 2009.

Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System (JAANUS)

Main Website: <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/>

Specific Link: Listing of 'sukiya zukuri',

<http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/sukiyazukuri.htm>

Author: Dr. Mary Neighbour Parent.

Accessed: 5th October 2009.

New Zealand's Gardens To Visit Website

Main Website: <http://www.gardenstovisit.co.nz/>

Specific Link: <http://www.gardenstovisit.co.nz/garden.aspx?gardenid=146>

Author: Jacquelyn Jamieson.

Accessed: 1st August 2009.

The NZ-Japan Relationship: Past Successes, Future Challenges

Main Website: <http://www.vuw.ac.nz/>

Specific Link: http://www.vuw.ac.nz/~caplabtb/nz_japan.html

Authors: Guergana Guermanoff and Tim Beal.

Original Publishing Details: This paper was originally written for the conference of the Kansai Society for NZ Studies held at Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, December 1, 1996.

Accessed: 16th December 2009.

Waitakere City Council Official Website

Main Website: <http://www.waitakere.govt.nz/>

Specific Link: <http://www.waitakere.govt.nz/abtcnl/ct/pdf/prjctsspec12005/170805ag.pdf>

Author: Renee Lambert.

Original Publishing Details: *Projects Special Committee Agenda*, Wednesday 17th August 2005, Waitakere City Council, Waitakere, New Zealand, August 2005.

Accessed: 24th August 2009.

Figures

Figure 1: *Ise Jingū*, Grand Shintō Shrine at Ise, Mie Prefecture, Established and constructed by Princess Yamatohime-no-mikoto daughter of Emperor Suinin, (r. 29 BCE - 70 AD). Watanabe, Yasutada, *Shintō Art: Ise and Izumo Shrines*, Weatherhill/Heibonisha, New York and Tokyo, 1974, p. 19.



Figure 2: *Toin Teien*, Imperial garden of Nara Palace commissioned by Empress Shotoku (718-770, r. 749-758, 764-770), Nara, Nara Period (710-794). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 74.



Figure 3: Kyuseki Teien also known as *Heijō-kyō Sakyō Sanjō Nibō Kyuseki*, Nara, Nara Period (710-794). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 36.

Figure 4: Teiji Itō, Chinese residential plan according to geomancy and the ancient principles of *fengshui*. Itō, Teiji, *The Gardens Of Japan*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York, and London, 1984, p. 27.

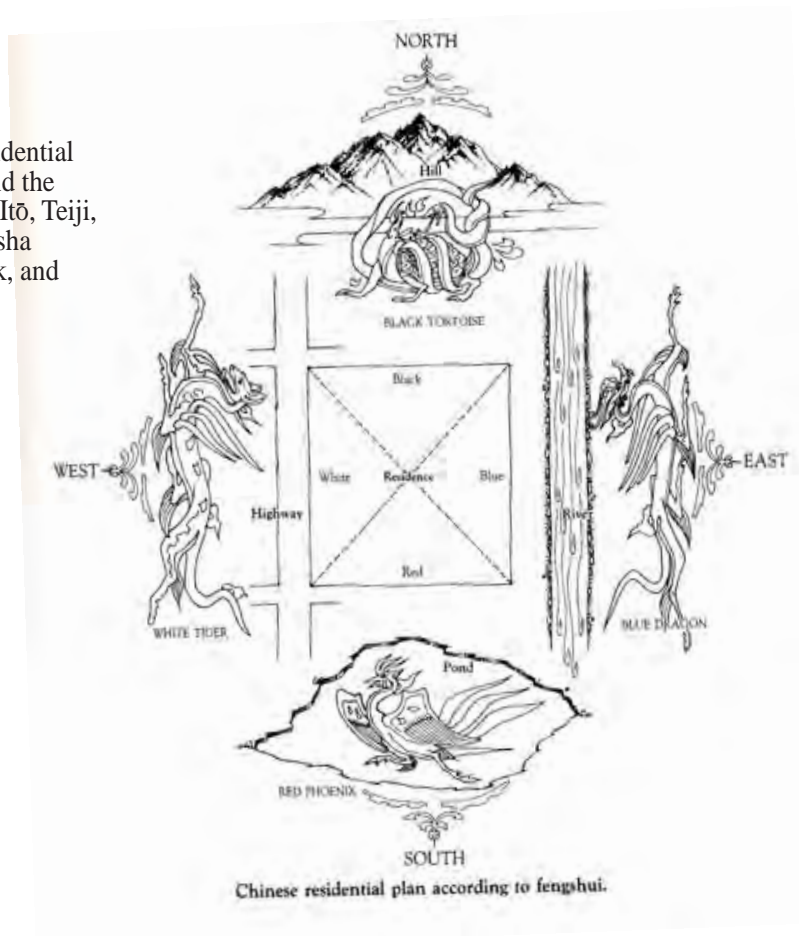




Figure 5: *Byōdō-in*, Uji, Commissioned by eleventh century governing regents, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966-1027) and his son Yorimichi (992-1074). Photograph by Kristina Pickford.

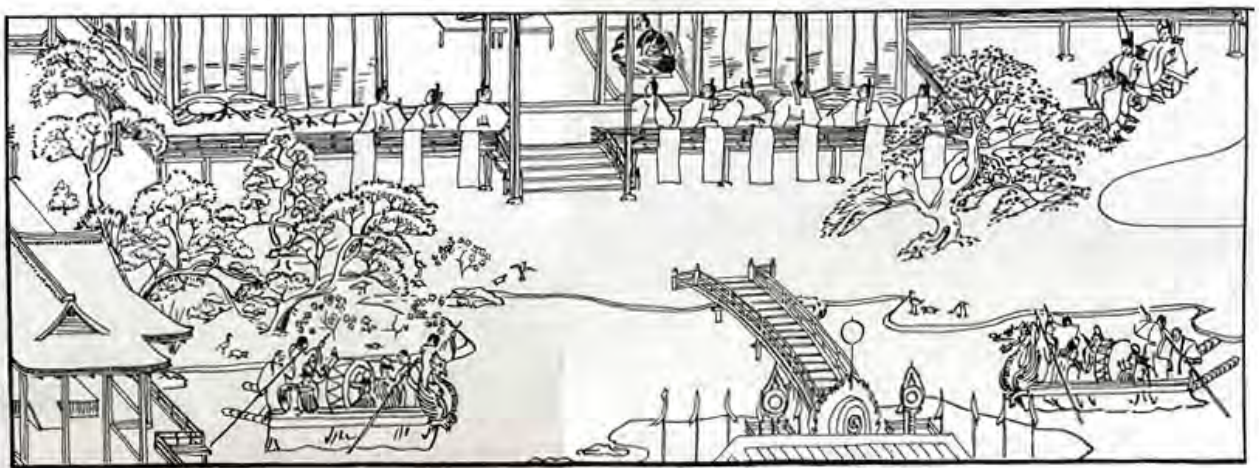


Figure 6: Wybe Kuitert, Redrawn detail of *Koma Kurabe Gyōkō Emaki*, 1024. Depicts life at the Kaya-no-in, Fujiwara no Yorimichi's (992-1074) Kyoto estate. Kuitert, Wybe, *Themes, Scenes, And Taste In The History Of Japanese Garden Art*, J.C. Gieben, Amsterdam, 1988, pp. 12-13.



Figure 7: Musō Soseki, *Garden of Saihōji*, Kyoto, circa 1339. Commissioned by nobleman Fujiwara Chikahide (1288-1341). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 127.



Figure 8: Unknown Designer, *Ryōan-ji garden at Ryōan-ji Temple*, Kyoto, circa 1499. Commissioned by military leader Hosokawa Katsumoto (1430-1473) and his son Hosokawa Masamoto (1466-1507). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 127.



Figure 9: Unknown Designer, *Daisen-in garden at the Priests Quarters (hōjō) at Daisen-in, subtemple of Daitoku-ji*, Kyoto, circa 1509-1513. The Daisen-in sub-temple was founded in the early sixteenth-century by Priest Kogaku (1464-1548). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 58.

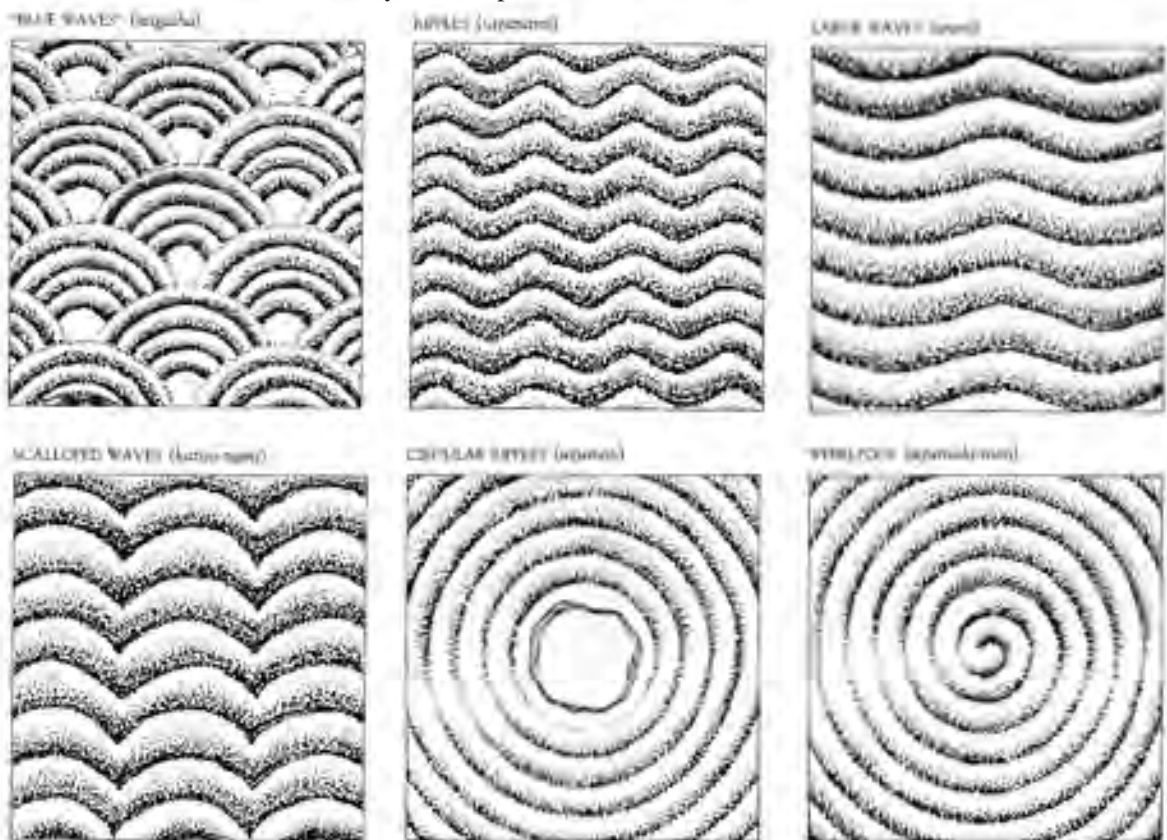


Figure 10: Teiji Itō, *Diagram of Popular Gravel Patterns*. Itō, Teiji, *The Gardens Of Japan*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York, and London, 1984, p. 196.



Figure 11: *Shugaku-in Imperial Villa Including Mount Hiei, Kyoto, 1655-1659*. Comissioned by Retired Emperor Gomizunoo (1596-1680; r. 1611-29). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 89.



Figure 12: *Katsura Imperial Villa, Kyoto, 1620-1660*. Commissioned by Imperial Prince Toshihito (1579-1629) and his son Prince Toshitada (1619-62). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 111.



Figure 13: *Garden of Kenroku-en*, Kanazawa, Ishikawa Prefecture, 1676-1874. Commissioned by successive Maeda *daimyō* lords: Tsunanori (1643-1724), Harunaga (1745-1810), Narinaga (1782-1824), and Nariyasu (1811-1884). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 59.

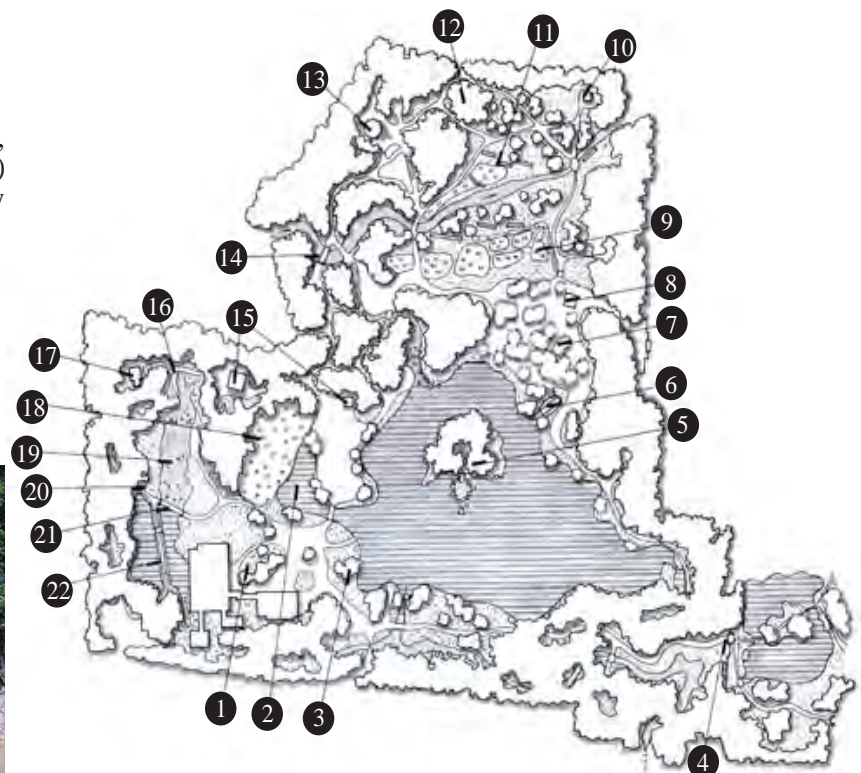
Figure 14b: *Map of the Garden at Koraku-en*, Koishikawa, Bunkyo, Tokyo, circa 1629-1700. Commissioned by daimyo lord, Tokugawa Yorifusa (1603-1661) in 1629 and was completed by his son Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701) and Chinese scholar, Zhu Shunshui (1600-1682). Keane, Marc Peter, *Japanese Garden Design*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 1996, p. 105.

Koishikawa Korakuen, Tokyo, Redrawn from guidebook map dated 1923.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. In (Yin) Stone | 2. Lotus Pond. |
| 3. Yō (Yang) Stone. | 4. Chinese-Style Gate. |
| 5. Hōrai Island. | 6. Boat Deck. |
| 7. Pine Meadow. | 8. Teahouse. |
| 9. Paddies. | 10. Arbour. |
| 11. Yatsushashi, Iris and Wisteria. | |
| 12. Plum Orchard. | 13. Pagoda. |
| 14. Engetsu-kyō. | 15. Teahouses. |
| 16. Tsūtenbachi. | 17. Kannon. |
| 18. Little Lu-shan. | 19. Ōi River. |
| 20. Folding-Screen Rock. | 21. Togetsu-kyō. |
| 22. Dike From The Western Lake. | |

Figure 14a: *Tokudai-ji-seki at the garden of Kōraku-en*, Koishikawa, Bunkyo, Tokyo, circa 1629-1700.

Commissioned by *daimyō* lord, Tokugawa Yorifusa (1603-1661) in 1629 and was completed by his son Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701) and Chinese scholar, Zhu Shunshui (1600-1682). Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 44.



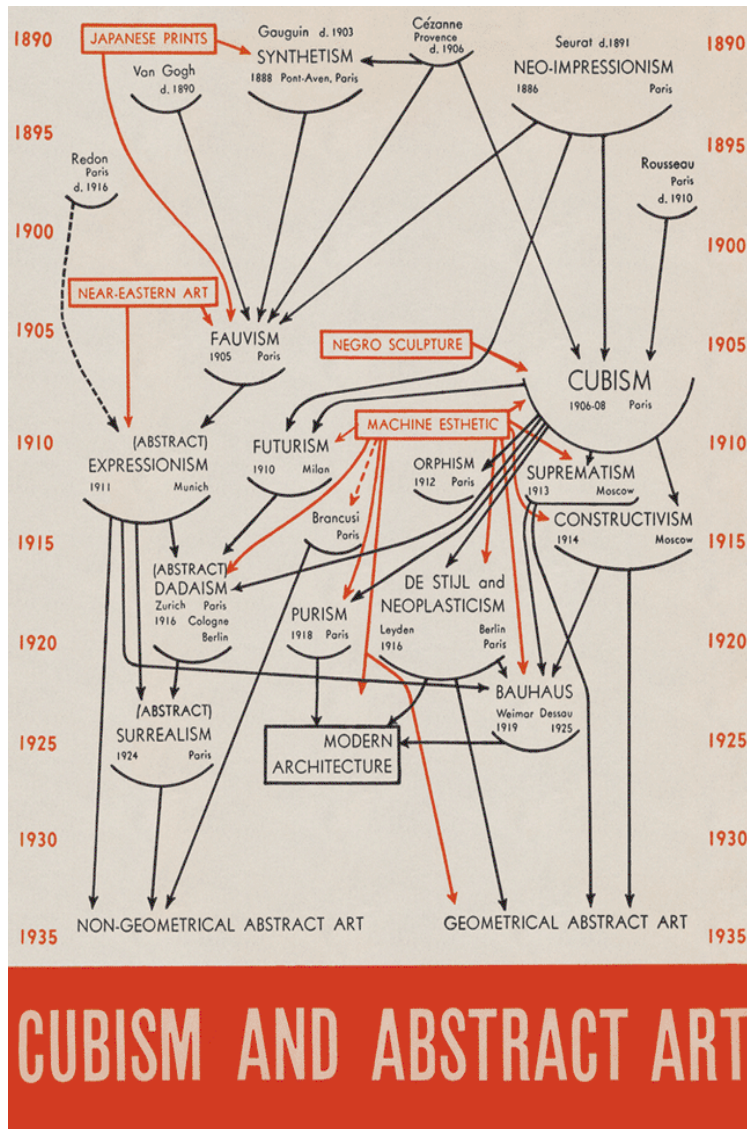


Figure 15: Alfred H. Barr, *Diagram of the Trajectory of Modern Art*, Originally published on the jacket cover of Barr, Alfred H., *Cubism And Abstract Art*, Museum of Modern Art Publishers, New York, 1936.

Figure 16a: Walter Gropius, and Adolf Meyer, *Fagus Shoe-Last Factory*, Alfred-an-derLeine, 1911. Hughes, Robert, *The Shock Of The New*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1991, p. 196.

Figure 16b: Walter Gropius, and Adolf Meyer, *Fagus Shoe-Last Factory*, Alfred-an-derLeine, 1911. Lupfer, Gilbert, and Sigel, Paul, *Walter Gropius, 1883-1969: The Promoter Of A New Form*, Taschen, Paris, Cologne, Brussels, London, Los Angeles, and New York City, 2004, p. 17.





Figure 17: Walter Gropius, *Bauhaus*, Dessau, 1925-26. Hughes, Robert, *The Shock Of The New*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1991, p. 197.



Figure 18a+b: Walter, Gropius, *Postcard To Le Corbusier*. Ponciroli, Virginia, (ed.) *Katsura: Imperial Villa*, Electra, Milan, 2005, pp. 386-389.





Figure 19: Walter, Gropius, *Törten Housing Estate*, Heidestaße, Dessau, 1926-1928. Lupfer, Gilbert, and Sigel, Paul, *Walter Gropius, 1883-1969: The Promoter Of A New Form*, Taschen, Paris, Cologne, Brussels, London, Los Angeles, and New York City, 2004, p. 56.



Figure 20: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret-Gris (Le Corbusier), *Villa Savoye*, Poissy, 1929-31. Hughes, Robert, *The Shock Of The New*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1991, p. 193.



Figure 21: Walter, Gropius, *Apartments for the 1957 International Building Exhibition or Internationale Bauausstellung abbreviated form: Interbau*, Handelallee, Hansaviertel, West Berlin, 1955-1957. Lupfer, Gilbert, and Sigel, Paul, *Walter Gropius, 1883-1969: The Promoter Of A New Form*, Taschen, Paris, Cologne, Brussels, London, Los Angeles, and New York City, 2004, p. 82.



Figure 22a: Shigemori Mirei, *Shishin Sōō no Niwa at Masshō Honzan Sekizo-ji*, Ichijima, Hyogo, 1972. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 78.

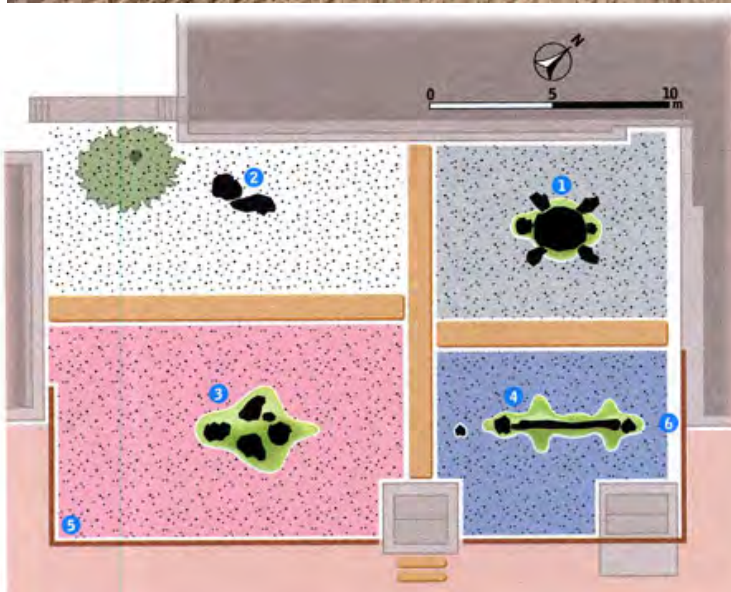


Figure 22b: Shigemori Mirei, *Map of Shishin Sōō no Niwa at Masshō Honzan Sekizo-ji*, Ichijima, Hyogo, 1972. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 79. Key:
1. Black Tortoise.
2. White Tiger.
3. Red Phoenix.
4. Blue Dragon.
5. Recommended Public Viewing Position.
6. Garden Title 'Shishin Sōō' (Four Gods) written in thatched bamboo onto a small wall.



Figure 23a: Shigemori Mirei, *Garden at Kishiwada-jō*, Kishiwada, Osaka, 1953. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 34.

Figure 23b: Shigemori Mirei, *Map of the Kishiwada-jō*, Kishiwada, Osaka, 1953. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 37.

Key:

1. Zhuge Liang's Central Camp.
2. The Camp of the Phoenix.
3. The Camp of the Earth.
4. The Camp of the Tiger.
5. The Camp of Heaven.
6. The Camp of the Snake.
7. The Camp of the Cloud.
8. The Camp of the Dragon.
9. The Camp of the Wind.

Figure 24a: Shigemori Mirei, *The North Garden at the Priests Quarters (hōjō) at Tōfūkū-ji*, Higashiyama, Kyoto, 1939. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 29.

Figure 24b: Shigemori Mirei, *Map of the Garden at the Priests Quarters (hōjō) at Tōfūkū-ji*, Higashiyama, Kyoto, 1939. Tschumi, Christian, *Mirei Shigemori: Modernizing The Japanese Garden*, Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California, 2005, p. 27.

Key:

1. Hōjō
2. Hōrai
3. Eijū
4. Koryō islands
5. Zen Sects of Kyoto (Moss covered hillocks)
6. West Garden (Rice Field Design)
7. North Garden (Moss and Stone Chequerboard)
8. East Garden ('Big Dipper' Constellation)

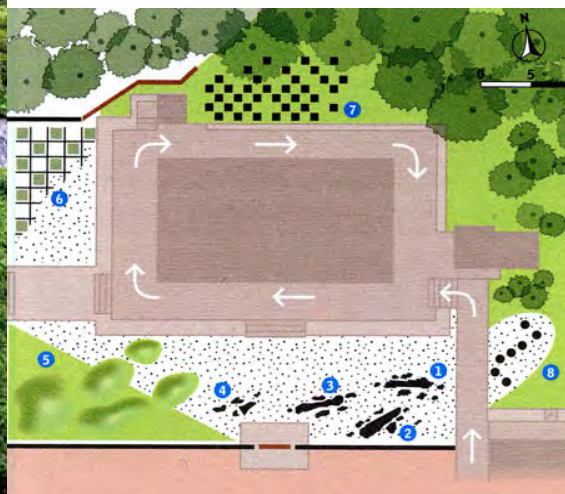




Figure 25: Unknown Designer, *Garden of Fumon-in*, Higashiyama, Kyoto, c.1688-1704. Main, Alison, and Platten, Newell, *The Lure Of The Japanese Garden*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, p. 106.



Figure 26: David and Michiko Young, *Shoin of the Eighth Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshimasa* (1435-1490, r. 1449-1473), Togudo, Ginkaku-ji, Kyoto. Young, David, and Young, Michiko, *The Art Of Japanese Architecture*, Charles E. Tuttle Publishers, Rutland, Vermont, Boston and Tokyo, 2007, p. 80.



Figure 27a: Henry and Charles Greene, *David B. Gamble House*, Pasadena, California, 1908. Photograph by Thomas, Theodore, and Okubo, Kuniko, in Thomas, Jeanette A., *Images Of The Gamble House: Masterwork Of Greene & Greene*, Balcony Press, Los Angeles, 1994, p. 4.



Figure 27b: Henry and Charles Greene, *David B. Gamble House*, Pasadena, California, 1908. Photograph by Thomas, Theodore, and Okubo, Kuniko, in Thomas, Jeanette A., *Images Of The Gamble House: Masterwork Of Greene & Greene*, Balcony Press, Los Angeles, 1994, p. 91.



Figure 28a: Odo Strewe, *Garden for Mr. W. Subritzky*, 12 Lynfield Place, Mt. Roskill, Auckland, 1962-4. Thompson, Sue, *Odo Strewe 1910-1985: Garden Designer*, Research Paper, Unitec, Auckland, October 1998, p. 34.

Figure 28: Odo Strewe, *Garden for Mr. W. Subritzky*, 12 Lynfield Place, Mt. Roskill, Auckland, 1962-4. Photographs by Mr. W. Subwitzky.



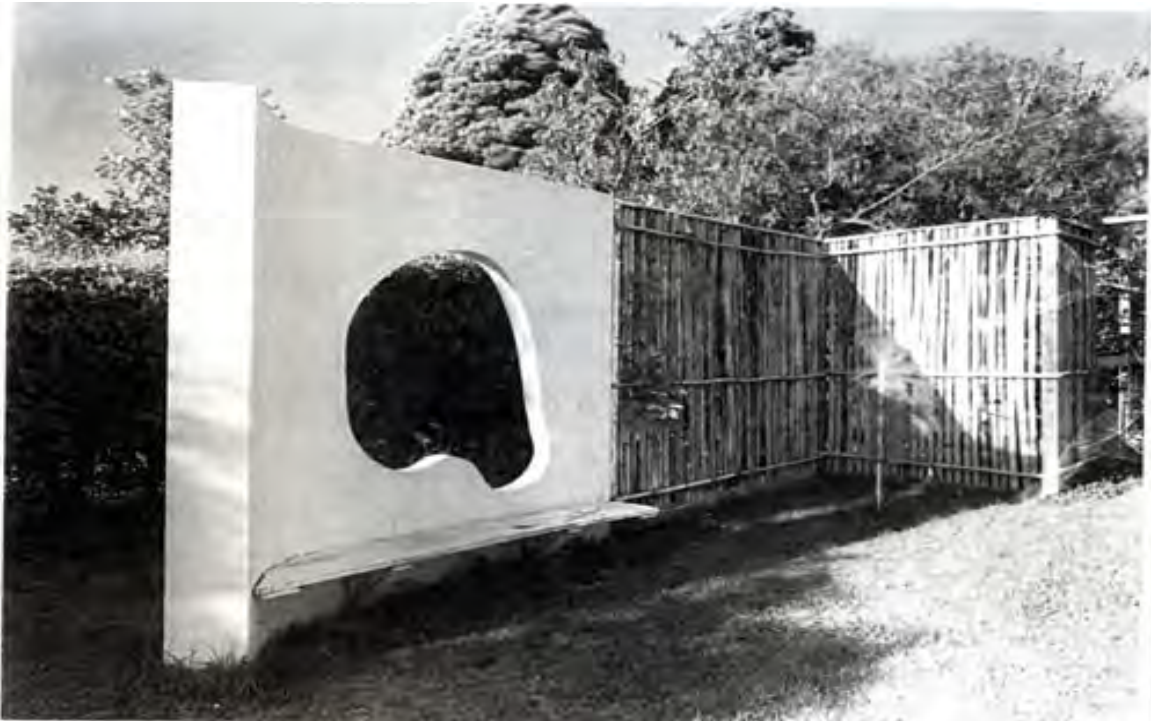


Figure 29: Odo Strewe, *Modernist Pavilion in Blockhouse Bay Garden*, Blockhouse Bay, Auckland, 1951. Lloyd-Jenkins, Douglas, 'Odo Strewe: Modern Homes, Modern Gardens' in M. Bradbury, (ed.) *A History Of The Garden In New Zealand*, Auckland, 1995, p. 165.



Figure 30: Hans Arp, *Configuration*, 1951, Lithograph in two colours on rives paper, 565 x 380mm or 22 1/4 x 15 inches, William Weston Gallery, London, <http://www.williamweston.co.uk/pages/previous/single/376/103/1.html>

Figure 31: Henry Moore, *Recumbent Figure*, 1938, first positioned at Bentley Wood, Halland, Sussex, England, which is Russian immigrant, Serge Chermayeff's (1900-1996) garden. Now the sculpture resides at the Tate Museum. Powers, Alan, 'Henry Moore's Recumbent Figure, 1938, at Bentley Wood' in Eyres, Patrick, and Russell, Fiona, *Sculpture And The Garden*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Aldershot, Hampshire, United Kingdom, 2006, p. 120.



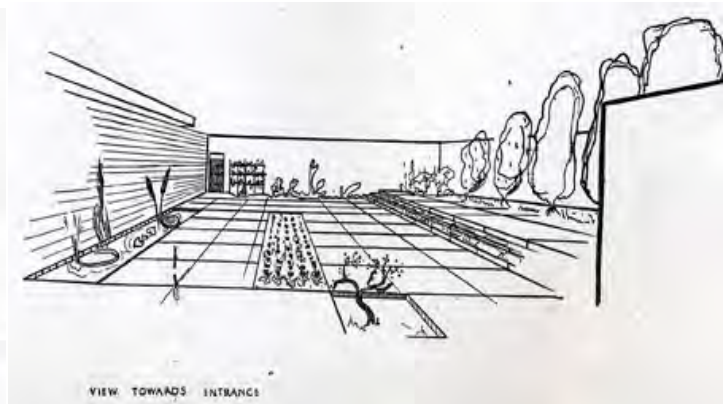
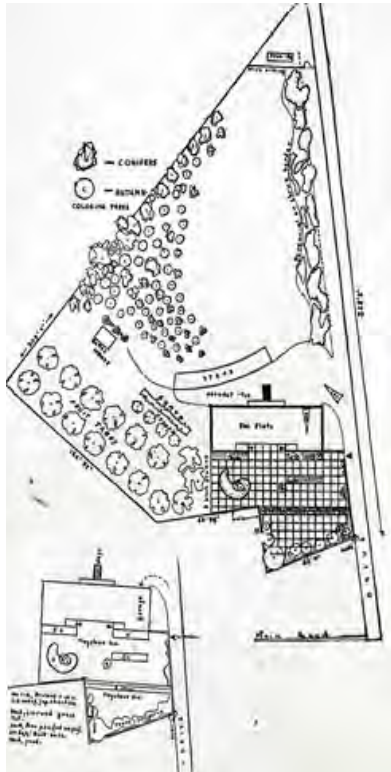


Figure 32a+b: Odo Strewe, *Plans For A Remuera Garden*, Remuera, Auckland, 1950. Strewe, Odo, 'A Garden For Relaxation...Not Backache' in *Home And Building*, New Zealand Institute Of Architects, Auckland, Vol. 14, No. 6, November 1951, pp. 32-33.

Figure 33: Odo Strewe, *Garden of Mr. and Mrs. Conyngham*, 11 Selwyn Avenue, Orakei, 1962. Thompson, Sue, *Odo Strewe 1910-1985: Garden Designer*, Research Paper, Unitec, Auckland, October 1998, p. 23.



Figure 34: John P. Salinger, *Example of a Pebble Garden*. Salinger, John P., *The New Zealander's Guide To Pebble Gardens*, Auckland and London, 1971, p. 24.



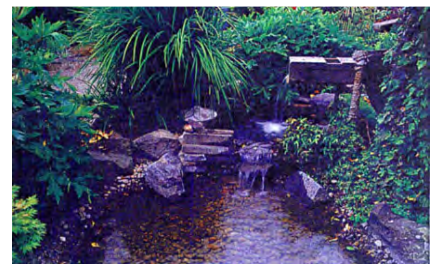
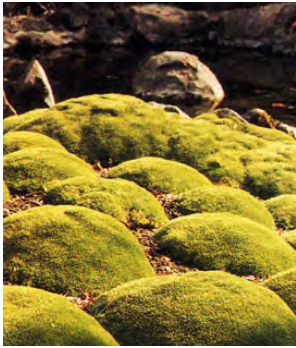


Figure 35a+b: Adrienne Rewi, *Photographs of Sam Beveridge and Tony Downes Japanese garden*. Rewi, Adrienne, 'Japanese Serenity' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 83, September 1993, p. 32-34. Adrienne Rewi, *Photographs of Sam Beveridge and Tony Downes Japanese garden*. Rewi, Adrienne, 'Tony Downes' in Rewi, Adrienne, *Private Views: Conversations With New Zealand Gardeners*, Hazard Press Ltd., Christchurch, 1996, pp. 38-43. Gil Hanly, *Photographs of Sam Beveridge and Tony Downes Japanese garden*. Telford, Deborah, 'Japanese Landscape', in *Next*, Next Publishers Inc., Auckland, no. 41, July 1994, pp. 110-114.





Figure 36: Gil Hanly, *Photograph of Robin and Bryan Rive's Japanese garden*. Firth, Susan, and Hanly, Gil, *New Zealand City Gardens*, Shoal Bay Press, Whitianga, 1989, p. 144.



Figure 37: Gil Hanly, *Photographs of Robin and Bryan Rive's Japanese garden*. Newey, Sharon, 'A Yen For Zen' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 57, May 2001, p. 80.





Figure 38: *Author's Own Photographs of Hamilton Gardens' Japanese Garden, Hamilton Gardens, Hamilton, Taken on 29 th April 2009.*



Figure 38: *Author's Own Photographs of Hamilton Gardens' Japanese Garden*, Hamilton Gardens, Hamilton, Taken on 29 th April 2009.

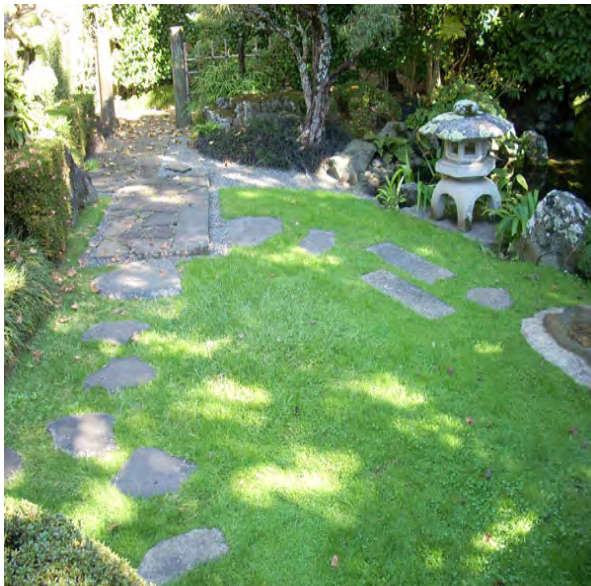


Figure 39: Author's Own Photographs of Auckland Zoo's Japanese Garden, Auckland Zoo, Auckland, Taken on 3rd May 2009.

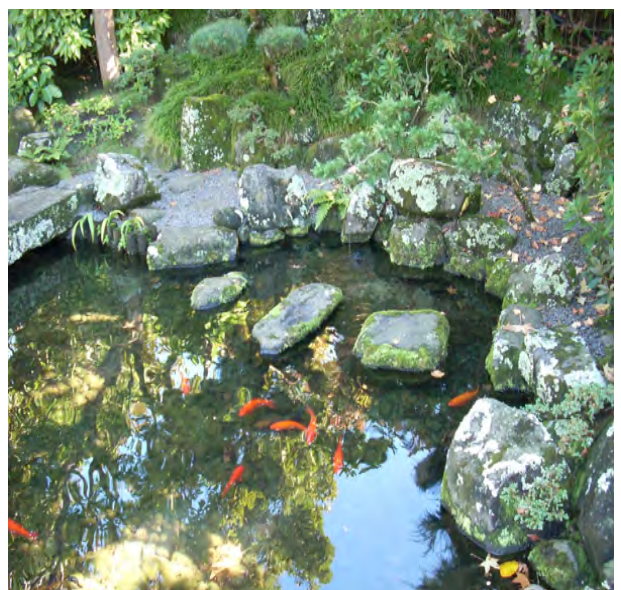
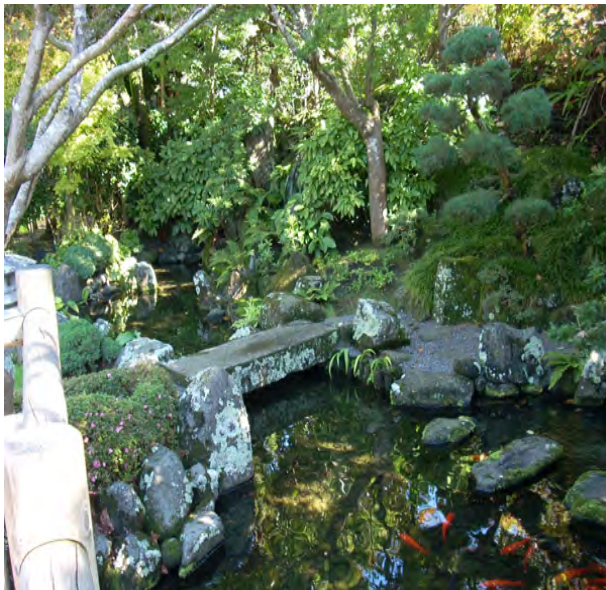


Figure 39: Author's Own Photographs of Auckland Zoo's Japanese Garden, Auckland Zoo, Auckland, Taken on 3 rd May 2009.



Figure 40: Rosemary Thodey, *Photograph of the Team who created Auckland Zoo's Japanese Garden*. Thodey, Rosemary, 'A Japanese Garden For Auckland Zoo' in *New Zealand Gardener*, New Zealand Gardener Publishers Inc., Auckland, vol. 46, August 1990, pp. 3435.